MEMORIALS OF EMINENT YALE MEN

ANSON PHELPS STOKES

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VOLUME II

SCIENCE AND PUBLIC LIFE

CLASS OF 1810

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

MDCCCCXIV

SAMUEL FINLEY BREESE MORSE

CLASS OF 1810

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A BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF STUDENT LIFE AND UNIVERSITY INFLUENCES DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

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NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
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First printed from type July, 1914, 1000 copies

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CHAPTER V

MEN OF SCIENCE

I. THE UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO SCIENCE

The University's contribution to science (including medicine) has been made in many ways: through investigators like Willard Gibbs (B.A. 1858), prophetic teachers like Benjamin Silliman (B.A. 1796), writers of text books like Elias Loomis (B.A. 1830) and William Chauvenet (B.A. 1840), and through many organizers of scientific instruction at Yale, at the Johns Hopkins Medical School, and elsewhere. When the field is studied carefully and impartially it will appear that Yale's greatest contributions have been fourfold:

The *American Journal of Science.*

The Sheffield Scientific School.

The application of scientific methods in agriculture, including forestry.

The development of American geology.

The *American Journal of Science* will complete, in 1918, its first century of existence. It was started by Benjamin Silliman. Its editorial management has been continued by the Danas—father and son—and as the elder Dana married Silliman's daughter, the family tradition has been worthily and unselfishly upheld. This review, comprising original papers, criticisms, discussions, and accounts of scientific progress, has maintained a position of dignity and authority among scholars at home and abroad throughout the most important period in the development of science. Its pages have given enlightenment and encouragement to thousands of workers in fields new and

old, and will be invaluable to the historian of the future. They form a great storehouse showing the position of investigation and thought at different periods. At the close of an appreciative summary of the Journal's influence, President Gilman said at the Bicentennial: "I am sure that no periodical, I am not sure that any academy or university in the land, has had as strong an influence upon science as the American Journal."

The Sheffield Scientific School is Yale's most important contribution to science. The roots of the School go back to Silliman's first lectures in 1804, and to the chemical laboratory, which his son, Benjamin Silliman, Jr. (B.A. 1837), fitted up on the College Campus in 1842. But its formal history began in 1847. The professorships of Agricultural Chemistry and of Practical or Applied Chemistry had been constituted the previous year. The "Yale Analytical Laboratory" was now opened in the old president's house on College Street, and the "Department of Philosophy and the Arts" formed. In 1852 William Augustus Norton, M.A., was called to a new professorship of Civil Engineering. In 1854 the instruction in chemistry and engineering began to be considered a separate section of the recently established Graduate Department, and the title "Yale Scientific School" was adopted and continued until Mr. Sheffield's munificent gifts made it seem appropriate to change the name to that now in use. This first appears in the University Catalogue of 1861-62. Up to this time his gifts had amounted to $100,000, which, according to the Yale Corporation's vote of thanks in July, 1861, was "the most considerable benefaction which Yale College has received from any one man from its foundation." Later, in 1871, with the approval of the President and Fellows, a Board of Trustees was established, not to take the place of the Corporation as the supreme authority in the government of the School, but as a separate auxiliary board to promote its interests, especially by caring for such funds and other gifts as might be entrusted to it "to promote the study of physical, mathematical, and natural sciences, in the college or school of science known

as the Sheffield Scientific School." The School's history and influence were admirably described by President Gilman—formerly a Sheffield Professor—at the semi-centennial exercises, in 1897. His address has been printed and should be consulted by all interested in the history of scientific education.[1] The School is mainly responsible for many important movements in American education. These include originating the group system of studies, the work for the Doctoraté of Philosophy degree, the plan of giving a combined scientific and liberal college education without Greek, and certain new lines of instruction such as agricultural chemistry, and the course in physiological chemistry[2] as a preparation for medicine. There have been about five thousand graduates,[3] many of whom in turn have influenced American science and education; but most of them were living in 1910, and were consequently ineligible for biographies in this volume. The School's phenomenal success has been due to many causes. The three main ones, in addition to the generosity of Mr. Sheffield, have been, that it was started at the psychological moment when the development of the Western country, and of American manufactures, made trained engineers and chemists a necessity; that it had connected with its Faculty from the first men of exceptional vision and power, of whom the late George Jarvis Brush (Ph.B. 1852), the Director from 1872 to 1898, may be considered the most representative figure; and that it was an integral part of a great national University.

The application of scientific methods in agriculture, including forestry, is the third field in which Yale has been specially influential. Jared Eliot (B.A. 1706) was one of the first men in America to deal scientifically with agricultural problems, while in the biography of Samuel William Johnson (Class of 1851-53), it will be shown how instruction in scientific agriculture in this country began at Yale

[1] Gilman, *The Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University.*

[2] The present Director of the School, Russell H. Chittenden (Ph.B. 1875), is responsible for this important development.

[3] 4461 Bachelors of Philosophy up to 1910. Most of the School's eminent men are still living, but among the deceased, Professors Brush and Brewer (Ph.B. 1852), Professor Johnson (Class of 1851-1853), George Frederic Barker (Ph.B. 1858), Clarence King (Ph.B. 1862), and Samuel Lewis Penfield (Ph.B. 1877) may be considered representative.

under John Pitkin Norton (Class of 1840-43), was continued under John Addison Porter (B.A. 1842), and reached its point of greatest fruition under Johnson himself.[4] As father of the Agricultural Experiment Station movement,[5] and as the writer of the best known treatises for farmers on the subject of crops, he had a national influence. This department of work in the Sheffield School was curtailed by the act of the state legislature in 1892, revoking the grant which had been received for thirty years under the congressional enactment of 1862; but, fortunately, William Henry Brewer (Ph.B. 1852), who was Professor of Agriculture, lived to take part in the establishment, in 1900, of the Yale Forest School, being a member of its first Governing Board. This School, whose commanding position in its field in America is generally recognized, was founded by Gifford Pinchot (B.A. 1889), a leader in the cause of conservation of national resources, and by members of his family. It has the same ideal of public service as the Yale Analytical Laboratory of an earlier generation, and is doing for the forestry development of the nation, and of the states, what the previous Yale movement did for scientific agriculture. These two closely related lines of activity, with all that they mean for the country's prosperity, received their main early stimulus from New Haven.

The particular field of science in which the University has made the most continuous and important contributions is geology. In others, such as astronomy[6] and chemistry, it has been eminent, in geology its preëminence was early established and has continued almost uninterruptedly to the present time, when Professor Cattell's studies of American Men of Science[7] show that it stands first among

[4] Among his students not enrolled as Yale graduates was Orange Judd, the well-known editor of the *American Agriculturist*. He worked in Johnson's laboratory for three years.

[5] Cf. Gilman, *The Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University*, pp. 30, 31.

[6] As the Yale Observatory is now only a research institution, which does no teaching, students generally are ignorant of the College's contributions to astronomy. These were specially marked all through the middle years of the nineteenth century. The names of prominence include Denison Olmsted (B.A. 1813), Ebenezer Porter Mason (B.A. 1839), Edward C. Herrick (Hon. M.A. 1838) the College Librarian and Treasurer, Elias Loomis (B.A. 1830), and Hubert Anson Newton (B.A. 1850).

[7] *American Men of Science*, 2d Edition (1910), p. 593.

our universities. The scientific study of geology at Yale has lasted over a century. It goes back to the mineral collection of Colonel George Gibbs, deposited at the College in 1809-10, and purchased, through Silliman's efforts, in 1825. This contained ten thousand specimens, and immediately made New Haven a center for the teaching and investigation of problems connected with mineralogy. The natural situation of the town in the midst of geological formations of exceptional interest also aided this development. Benjamin Silliman (B.A. 1796) and James Dwight Dana (B.A. 1833) are probably the most important names. But equally significant work has been done by Yale graduates outside college walls, in the public service. Denison Olmsted (B.A. 1813), who proposed and executed in North Carolina the first state geological survey in America, the erratic but brilliant James Gates Percival (B.A. 1815), who published, in 1842, the first scientific survey of Connecticut, Edward Hitchcock (Class of 1825-26), who completed the same work for Massachusetts in 1844, and Thomas Sterry Hunt (Class of 1845-46), who was largely responsible for the survey of Canada in the sixties, were conspicuous pioneers. These movements were followed by three others of such national significance that the biographies of their leaders are all included in this volume: the survey of California under Josiah Dwight Whitney (B.A. 1839), and the Fortieth Parallel Survey and the organization of the United States Geological Survey, both under Clarence King (Ph.B. 1862). The work of the government has always been in close touch with the department of Geology at Yale, while the Survey itself has had identified with it for a long period representative graduates, such as Clarence E. Dutton (B.A. 1860) and Arnold Hague (Ph.B. 1863), both national academicians. In its collections, its teaching, its leadership of public movements, and in its publications through the *American Journal of Science* and elsewhere, Yale took a century ago a position of leadership in geology which was never more recognized than today.

Such is a brief summary of Yale's most conspicuous services to science. Fortunately they have been rendered without interfering with the old college course and its emphasis on the humanities. In fact, it is believed that the existence side by side in the same University of two equally strong departments, the one emphasizing science, the other "literæ humaniores" can, if rightly directed, have only a good influence on both. The student of the classics and of history needs to have his mind brought down occasionally to the concrete facts of the material and natural world about him, while the embryo man of science needs the idealism and sense of perspective which work for the arts degrees must help to give to the community.

Yale's work in medicine has been recorded in permanent form by the recognized head of the American medical profession, William Henry Welch (B.A. 1870),[8] so the briefest treatment here must suffice. The beginnings go back to Jared Eliot (B.A. 1706), an eminent clerical physician. The line is traced through Benjamin Gale (B.A. 1733), "one of the few pre-Revolutionary American physicians who have left published records of valuable medical observations,"[9] Mason Fitch Cogswell (B.A. 1780), the most distinguished surgeon in Connecticut during much of his life, whose name "has a permanent place in the history of surgery," Elihu Hubbard Smith (B.A. 1786), who started *The Medical Repository,* the first medical publication in America, and that versatile layman, Noah Webster (B.A. 1778), whose works on "epidemic and pestilential diseases" entitle him to be considered the first American epidemiologist. So much for the eighteenth century. The early nineteenth century was marked by the establishment of the Yale Medical School, chartered in 1810, the sixth oldest institution of its character in America. It was fortunate in being for sixteen years, from 1813 to 1829, under the leadership of Professor Nathan Smith, of whom Dr. Welch says that "he did more for the general advancement of medical and surgical practice,

[8] "Yale in its Relation to Medicine," in *Yale Bicentennial Celebration.*

[9] This and the following brief quotations in this summary are from Welch's "Yale in its Relation to Medicine." *Ibid.*

than any of his predecessors or contemporaries in the country." The School has had a modest equipment, but it has graduated about fifteen hundred carefully trained physicians,[10] and has maintained conscientiously high professional standards. It has recently come to favorable attention through the publication of Mr. Flexner's report to the Carnegie Foundation on Medical Education, and by its grouping in class "A Plus" of the American Medical Association. It is hoped that the centennial anniversary of the conferring of the first degrees, in 1914, will find this Department of the University adequately endowed and equipped.

[10] 1456, up to the year 1910. Among the most distinguished men of medicine educated at Yale during the past century, and no longer living, have been: Alexander Hodgson Stevens (B.A. 1807), President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and of the American Medical Association; Eli Ives (B.A. 1799), Professor in the Yale Medical School, and President of the American Medical Association; Jonathan Knight (B.A. 1808), who held the same two positions; Edward Delafield (B.A. 1812), President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York; and such eminent doctors as George McClellan (B.A. 1816), father of General McClellan, and Alfred Stillé (B.A. 1832) of Philadelphia; and William Holme Van Buren (B.A. 1838), and William Thompson Lusk (B.A. 1859) of New York. If the names of the living doctors from the last named city were given, it is no exaggeration to say that one-third of the leading names would be included in a Yale list. McClellan and Van Buren had national reputations as surgeons, Stillé was an able teacher and writer on medicine, while Lusk's book on the *Practise of Midwifery* is still quoted, and was for many years an international authority.

II. REPRESENTATIVE BIOGRAPHIES, WITH LETTERS

Jared Eliot

Class of 1706

Born, November 7, 1685; Died, April 22, 1763

"The Father of Regular Medical Practice in Connecticut"

The name of Jared Eliot deserves to be remembered as that of the ablest doctor of his generation in the Colony of Connecticut, and the last eminent clerical physician of New England. He was a man of sufficient attainments in science to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of London—an honor shared by four alumni: David Humphreys, James Dwight Dana, Hubert Anson Newton, and Josiah Willard Gibbs, and one non-graduate, Thomas Sterry Hunt. He was the grandson of the great apostle to the Indians, John Eliot, and his father was the minister of Guilford, Connecticut. By his will he directed that one or both of his sons should be given a thorough education as a preparation for the ministry. This, and his natural inclination, led to Jared's going to college, and the proximity of Guilford to Saybrook, where the "Collegiate School of Connecticut" was then located, made Yale rather than the ancestral Harvard the natural choice. One of his two classmates was Rev. Jonathan Dickinson (q.v.). Some account of college life in their time is included in the sketch of his life. Of his own work as an undergraduate, no details are preserved, but the tradition that he was Rector Pierson's favorite pupil is strengthened by the fact that he was called to be his successor as pastor at Killingworth. His attachment to his Alma Mater was later shown in many ways. He was a Fellow for a third of a century, he aided in interesting Bishop Berkeley in the College, and by his will left it a Library Fund.[1] This

[1] Clap, *Annals*, p. 77.

is the small nucleus from which the endowment of this most vital department of the University has been developed. The clause of the will reads: "I will and bequeathe to the President and Fellows of Yale College in Newhaven ten Pounds lawfull Money the Intrest of which Sum shall be applyed to the Use of the Libery in buying of Books from Time to Time according to their best skill."[2]

On leaving college he returned to his native town as schoolmaster, and had the distinction of preparing for college one of the most eminent of Yale's early graduates—Rev. Samuel Johnson (q.v.). In 1709 he was ordained minister of the neighboring Congregational Church at Killingworth, now Clinton, a post which he filled with honor for half a century. Although his medical work took him all over the state, and occasionally to Boston and Newport, he tried to arrange to occupy his own pulpit every Sunday. His zeal as a minister of the Gospel was so great that he is said by one of his early biographers not to have failed for forty successive years in preaching at least once a Sunday.[3] His friendship with Johnson, and other causes, led him, in 1722, to unite with certain Congregational ministers, in presenting to the Yale Trustees doubts as to the validity of their ordination; but his difficulties were satisfactorily met by clerical colleagues, and he remained through life devoted to his original ministry. He held the confidence of his brethren to such an extent that he was repeatedly elected Moderator of the General Association of Connecticut. But it was as a doctor, "the Father of regular medical practice in Connecticut," and as a man of science, rather than as a minister, that Eliot was most famous in his generation. Dr. James Thacher, whose knowledge of early American men of medicine was probably unequaled, says: "He was unquestionably the first physician in his day in Connecticut, and was the last clerical physician of eminence, probably in New England. . . . . He was . . . . very eminent for his judgment and skill in the manage-

[2] Copied from last page of MS., "Land Book" in Treasurer's office.
[3] Sprague, *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 271, quoting Thacher, *American Medical Biography*.

ment of chronic complaints. In these he appears to have been more extensively consulted than any other physician in New England. . . . ."[4] His methods and his reputation were largely conserved by his pupil and son-in-law, Dr. Benjamin Gale (B.A. 1733), a man of the highest standing in his profession, whose studies of smallpox received much attention in England.

Intimately connected with his medical skill was his knowledge of botany, for which he was famed. He introduced the white mulberry into Connecticut, together with the silkworm, and wrote *An Essay upon Field Husbandry in New England,* which went through two editions. It was one of the first books published in this country attempting to apply scientific principles to agriculture. His investigations gained for him a gold medal[5] from the London Society of Arts. The specific cause of this award was his *Essay on the Invention, or Art of Making very good, if not the best Iron, from black Sea-Sand,* his experiments having satisfied him that such sand contained particles of iron.

The most significant thing about Eliot was his method, where he approached to modernity in a very unmodern age. Here are quotations from his writings that do credit to his scientific spirit:

> Entering on the borders of terra incognita I can advance not one step forward, but as experience, my only pole-star, shall direct. I am obliged to work as poor men live, from hand to mouth, and as light springs up before me, as I advance. . . . . As all theory not founded upon matter of fact and that is not the result of experience, is vague or uncertain, therefore it is with great diffidence that I have offered anything in way of theory which is only conjectural and shall always take it as a favor to be corrected and set right.[6]

Eliot's house, being near the main highroad from Boston to New York, was frequently visited by the distinguished characters of the day, and especially by Benjamin Franklin. Parts of Eliot's correspondence with him are preserved in the Yale Library. Dr. Franklin appreciated both his friend's knowledge and his charm.

[4] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, pp. 270-271. This was written in 1828.
[5] Awarded in 1762. Reproduced in Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. II, p. 324.
[6] Quoted by Gilman, *Yale Bicentennial Celebration,* pp. 324, 325.

He wrote to him in 1755: "I remember with Pleasure the cheerful hours I enjoyed last Winter in your Company, and would with all my heart give any ten of the thick old Folios that stand on the shelves before me for a little book of the stories you then told with so much propriety and humor."[7] That he was a broadly educated man for his day, and that he acquired much knowledge from study, travel, and intercourse with men of eminence, is evident. His figure stands out clearly in the dim past of New England, and a sturdy and attractive figure it is. The combination of clergyman and doctor is probably no longer possible in our country in this day of scientific specialization, although it is still occasionally seen on the mission field. But we cannot fail to accord our meed of honor to the last conspicuous example of a profession that tried to carry out the Scripture teaching, by becoming a physician both of the body and of the soul. Dr. William H. Welch (B.A. 1870) paid this tribute to Eliot in his address at the Bicentennial:

> But of all those who combined the offices of clergyman and physician, not one, from the foundation of the American Colonies, attained so high distinction as a physician as Jared Eliot of the Class of 1706, who was the first graduate of Yale College to enter upon the practice of medicine.[8]

When we consider the extent and variety of his work as a settled minister, a practicing physician and teacher both of medicine and of surgery, a most successful farmer, and a man of science, we can appreciate the truth of the statement in his funeral sermon, that "Idleness was his abhorrence: but every portion of time was filled with action by him. Perhaps no man in his day has slept so little, and done so much, in so great a variety."[9] The quaint epitaph on the tombstone of another Yale clerical physician, who graduated a decade later, might well be applied to Eliot:

[7] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. II, p. 324. Franklin bought some land in New Haven, near the southern end of the present Lawrence Hall, in 1753, planning to set up a printing establishment with his nephew in charge. The plan miscarried, and the press and type were sold to James Parker. Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. II, p. 356.

[8] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration,* p. 208.

[9] Funeral Sermon by Rev. Thomas Ruggles (B.A. 1723).

Blcss'd with good intellectual parts,
Well skilled in two important arts,
Nobly he filled the double station
Both of a preacher and physician.
To cure men's sicknesses and sins,
He took unwearied care and pains;
And strove to make his patient whole
Throughout, in body and in soul.[10]

OMNIBUS ET SINGULIS

has Literas lecturis Salutem in Domino Vobis notum sit quod Davidem Gardiner candidatum primum in Artibus Gradum competentem tam probavimus quam approbavimus quem examine sufficienti prævio approbatum nobis placet Titulo Graduque Artium liberalium Baccalaurei et adornare et condecorare in cujus rei majorem fidem et plenius Testimonium Sigillum Collegii Yalensis quo hoc in parte utimur præsidentibus apponi fecimus

Datum a Collegio Yalensi
quod est in novo Portu
Connecticutensium Sep^{bris} 8vo A D 1736

E. Williams	Rector
Samuel Andrew	
Jared Eliot	
Saml Woodbridge	Curatores
Jonath Marsh	
Samuel Cooke	

This diploma[11] is a link with the beginnings of Yale College. It is signed by a majority of the Trustees under the original charter. One of these, Rev. Samuel Andrew, was at the time (1736) the only survivor of the founders of the College—the ten ministers whose names are cut in large letters below the eaves of Woodbridge Hall. He acted as Rector *pro tempore* between the death of Rev. Abraham Pierson, in 1707, and the succession of Cutler, in 1719.

Elisha Williams, who signed as Rector, held this office from 1726 to 1739. He was a man of ability and breadth of culture, whose resignation was accepted with regret, and "with hearty thankfulness for all his past good service in this capacity." He later distinguished

[10] Quoted in sketch of Rev. Benjamin Doolittle (B.A. 1716), Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 153.

[11] A diploma of 1702 is preserved in the University Library.

himself as Speaker of the Connecticut House, Judge of the Superior Court, Chaplain in the expedition to Cape Breton, and Colonel and Commander-in-chief of the Connecticut forces for the invasion of Canada in 1746—a rather varied career for an old-time New England parson!

Jared Eliot was a Trustee from 1730 to 1763, being the first Yale graduate to be elected to this position. As an "Old Light" adherent, he opposed President Clap strenuously for proposing to establish a separate college congregation—a resolve which was carried out June 30, 1757, by the formal beginning of "The Church of Christ in Yale College."

Benjamin Silliman

Class of 1796

Born, August 8, 1779; Died, November 24, 1864

Pioneer in Scientific Education

Benjamin Silliman, founder of the *American Journal of Science,* and the most conspicuous scientific teacher in America in the early part of the nineteenth century, was born in what is now Trumbull, Connecticut. Owing to the absence of the father, General Gold Selleck Silliman (B.A. 1752), who had been captured by the British, and to the danger of their home at Fairfield being attacked by the enemy, the mother had moved her family about seven miles inland. This accounts for the son's birth away from the paternal farm. He was prepared for college by the local pastor, and by Stephen Fowler (B.A. 1779), later a merchant, under whom Joseph E. Sheffield began his business career. He was next to the youngest man in his class when he entered with his brother, in 1792. Yale College was then a small institution with a very inadequate equipment, but nevertheless it was effective in training men for leadership. Silliman, who saw the end of mediæval Yale under Stiles, the beginnings of the nineteenth century College under Dwight, and the development of a modern university under Woolsey, delivered an address before the alumni in 1842, contrasting the College that year with its condition a half century earlier when he first entered its gate as a Freshman. From the manuscript of this address the following quotations are taken:

> These three buildings [Connecticut Hall, Athenæum, and the Commons] were all that appeared upon the college ground in 1792. A close fence of panneled boards, painted red, and relieved by cross stripes of white, enclosed the narrow premises, which occupied no more of the present front, than to the North end of the old college [Connecticut]. The remainder,[1] and for the greater part of that now extended line, was filled with a grotesque group—generally of most undesirable establishments, among which were a barn—a barber's shop—several coarse taverns

or boarding houses—a poor house and house of correction—and the public jail with its prison yard—& used alike for criminals—for maniacs & debtors.[2]

In the same address Silliman tells us that the Faculty when he was a Freshman included the President, one Professor, who was disabled from duty, and three tutors. The very name of chemistry was "hardly known in the institution." The mineral collection was so small that when the College wished to have the specimens properly labeled those that were thought of enough value to be named were put in a small portable box and taken to Philadelphia in the public stage. The entire "philosophical apparatus" could be easily put in a student's room in Connecticut Hall.[3] Silliman's description of it, in view of the present scientific equipment of the University, is of historical interest:

An air pump—a whirling table—a telescope or two an electrical machine—a quadrant, a theodolite the mechanical powers a spouting fountain & a few miscellaneous articles were sufficient to excite our wonder & to procure some reputation for the college, especially in pneumatics mechanics & electricity. In pneumatics however, the air pump would, with difficulty, kill a mouse, when placed upon its plate under a receiver, so imperfect was its exhaustion; but the electrical machine produced more brilliant results.[4]

The morals of the day were not good, and religion did not hold a place of honor. The French Revolution was having its effect. Silliman tells us that of the students "very few then avowed themselves, decidedly, as christians." Yet good manners were in public punctiliously observed, especially in such matters as removing the cap when at certain regulated distances from members of the Faculty, culminating in the case of the President, to whom the students began bowing "almost as far as we could see him—or at least as far as he

[1] Hon. James Hillhouse (B.A. 1773), to whom New Haven is indebted for becoming the "City of Elms," was the efficient Treasurer of the University from 1782 to 1832, and was mainly responsible, with President Dwight, for securing for the College this large section of the present Campus, and for bringing about the legislative act of 1792, by which, in return for placing the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and the six senior Assistants in the Council of the state on the Corporation, a substantial financial grant was secured.

[2] MS. of Silliman's Address before Alumni in 1842, p. 30.

[3] "It was in the old college, second left, north east corner, now No. 56," Fisher, *Life of Silliman*, Vol. I, p. 88.

[4] MS. of Silliman's Address before Alumni in 1842, p. 41.

could see us." The upper classmen were recognized by law and custom as the "mentors and monitors" of the younger classes, and were allowed to enforce the fagging system. Silliman writes:

This delicate duty was often discharged, with evident advantage, by the senior class, towards the freshmen;—they were, early after their arrival, formed in line, in the long gallery of the old chapel; the senior class being arranged parallel to & fronting them, when one of their number—a man selected for his gravity & weight of character explained to the novices, the peculiar customs of the college, especially in regard to manners; the lesson was given with dignity & kindness, and received & regarded in a proper spirit. Thus far was very well, but the interference of the inferior classes with the freshman class, and especially of the sophomore in lecturing—disciplining & sending of errands—usually vexatious & often insulting, was only mischievous. The freshmen were the errand-boys of their superiors, and were not allowed to wear gowns nor to carry canes. On the evening preceding the public commencement, they first assumed the toga, & the cane; and then ostentatiously paraded the college yard in close phalanx—fencing their way through crowds of people, assembled to view the illumination of the college windows, & the dazzling pyrotechnics of mounting rockets—and burning wheels revolving with blazing corrunations & fiery serpents, flying through the air with comet trains along the line of the college yard.[5]

Of his Freshman year at Yale we know little, except that he was fined sixpence by President Stiles for being caught kicking a football on the Campus, then called the College Yard. He joined Brothers in Unity, where he read an essay on natural history indicative of the subject of his future interest. Extracts from his journal reflect accurately his life and problems during the latter part of the college course:

1795; Aug. 13. . . . . Studied in the forenoon; in the evening went to Brothers in Unity Society; returned to my room with Bishop, Robbins, and Tucker. We dressed Robbins in the *beau mode,* but making a little too much noise, Mr. Linsly came up to still us. Nevertheless, we finished the transformation of Robbins, and he strutted around college with considerable dignity. We raised the electrical kite this day, but the air was too near an equilibrium to afford any of the fluid.

Aug. 17.—I have been this evening to the ΦBK. Selleck has been out in town and is not yet returned. I do not recollect that I have this day been guilty of any material error. I wish, however, to gain the ascendency over my irascibility, and to cultivate the heavenly virtue of affability and complacency to all, that so my life, whether short or long, may be both more agreeable to myself and to others.

[5] *Ibid.,* pp. 51, 52.

Aug. 22. . . . . I copied compositions all the forenoon, and went to recitation at eleven. The class recited about half round, and because two of them missed and had not studied their recitations, Mr. S—— jumped up in a pet and told the class to get their recitations better, and to come prepared to recite the same recitation on Monday, and went out of the chapel with amazing velocity. In consequence of his intemperate conduct, the class were very much offended, and declared that they would not give him a present. I think that he ought to have commanded his temper, although it must be acknowledged that a man ought to have the patience of Job to officiate as a tutor in the college. . . . .

Sept. 8—I stayed at Mrs. Hill's all the forenoon, copied tunes, fluted, &c. Dr. Dwight was to have been inducted into the office of President at ten A.M., but through some misfortune was not, and it was postponed until six P.M., when I attended in the chapel, which was filled with clergyman, students, &c. The ceremony was begun by an anthem; then a Latin oration and address to the President elect, by Mr. Williams. The President then made a Latin oration and addresses to the corporation, and the whole was concluded by an anthem called "The Heavenly Vision." The first act of power exercised by the new President was—"cantatur anthema." I then went to supper and then to college, to see the illumination and fireworks: the illumination was partial, as well the fireworks, but the music was very good. I walked the yard with Page, and feel considerably fatigued, but hope to receive no material injury from my extraordinary exercise.

Nov. 1.—Clear and cold, but a very healthy air. I attended meeting all day in the chapel, and was well entertained with two excellent sermons from the President. One of them (the first) was upon the subject of indifference in the affairs of religion, which he thought to be a greater crime than direct opposition. The other was upon the authenticity of the account which the Evangelists have given of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and the impossibility of the apostles being either deceived or deceivers.

Nov. 6—I think that I have never seen college in so regular a situation as at present. There are no disturbances, and the students attend the exercises with punctuality. Vigorous preparations are making for commons, and we shall enter the hall next week on Tuesday.

Nov. 9—I rose as early as usual, attended prayers, and wrote in a part of the forenoon upon the question, "Whether a minority can ever be justified in rebelling against a majority." In the afternoon I read and wrote upon the following question: "Whether the mental abilities of the females are equal to those of the male,"—of the affirmative of which I am a strenuous advocate.

Nov. 11— . . . . I rose as early as usual, and attended prayers; then returned. I wrote poetry in the greater part of the forenoon with tolerable success, and the same in the afternoon, and likewise in the evening, until Marsh, a graduate, came in, and after him Tucker, Cantey, Bassett, &c., &c. We drank a few glasses of wine, and the conversation ran upon politics in general, and particularly upon the corruption of some of our great men, the state of France, of England, &c. Matters ran pretty high, as is generally the case in politics. Many men who in private life

are of the most amiable and gentle dispositions, when they come to converse upon politics are ravenous wolves. The company did not break up until past ten. We invited Marsh to stop at our room, which he did, and I slept with Prince at his room.

Jan. 6.—It was so dark by 4 P.M. that I could not study, and went to Prince and Bishop's room, where I enjoyed conversation until prayer-time, upon politics and smoking. I asserted that smoking was attended with nothing of a beneficial nature, and that it was a very bad habit. Bishop, on the contrary, (who, by the way, is an old smoker) defended it with all the pathos of a person contending for his dearest rights; and the result of the whole was, that he should enjoy his opinions and I mine. He thought that I was wrong, but I knew that he was. Different persons will have different opinions, and as long as this is the case, should learn to respect, although we cannot believe, the opinions of others. This is called, in one word, candor.[6]

These quotations give a picture familiar to Yale men of the hearty, strong undergraduate, interested in everything about him, and gaining much from college work and from the interchange of opinion with his associates. The type of subjects which they discussed may be gathered from the following questions which Silliman was assigned to debate in Phi Beta Kappa: "Whether the treaty lately concluded between the United States of America and Great Britain ought to have been ratified by the President and Senate," and "Whether marriage is a beneficial institution." Both questions were decided in the affirmative.

Of undergraduate influences none was greater than that of Dr. Dwight (q.v.). His strong character, ability, and sympathy with young men, made an immediate impression that is reflected in the extracts from the diary given above. The old rule of infidelity in religion and of organized student "rebellions," so common under Stiles, was never prominent in the new administration, and Silliman always felt that Dwight's teaching, preaching, and example had been potent factors in his own development.

On graduation he delivered a "Poetical Oration" on the comparative effects of the different states of society and climate upon the various nations of the world. He was still undecided as to his

[6] Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman,* Vol. I, pp. 29-42.

Benjamin Silliman

Class of 1796

... and gentle dispositions, when they come to converse upon politics are ravenous wolves. The company did not break up until past ten. We invited Marsh to stop at our room, which he did, and I slept with Prince at his room.

Jan. 7.—It was so dark by 4 P.M. that I could not study, and went to Prince and Bishop's room, where I enjoyed conversation until prayer-time, upon politics and smoking. I asserted that smoking was attended with nothing of a beneficial nature, and that it was a very bad habit. Bishop, on the contrary, (who, by the way, is an old smoker) defended it with all the pathos of a person contending for his dearest rights; and the result of the whole was, that he should enjoy his opinions and I mine. He thought that I was wrong, but I knew that he was. Different persons will have different opinions, and as long as this is the case, should learn to respect, although we cannot believe, the opinions of others. This is called, in one word, candor.[6]

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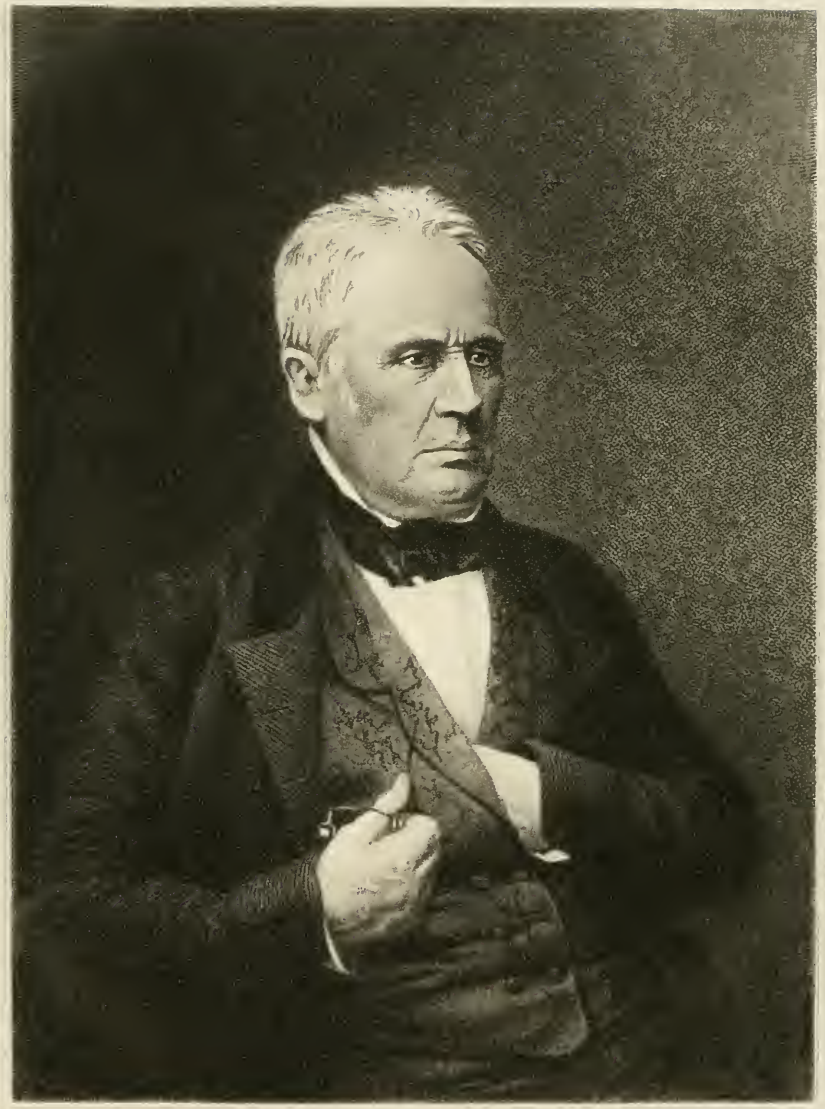
[6] *Life of Benjamin Silliman*, Vol. I, pp. 29-42.



profession. "I wont be a doctor," he said, "I am not good enough for a priest; and lawyers are so plenty that they can hardly get a case apiece."[7] In this uncertainty he did as hundreds of other good men have done: he helped for a year on his father's farm, then taught school, and ended up in the law office of Hon. Simeon Baldwin (B.A. 1781). These occupations all gave him good experience, but he did not find his métier until President Dwight offered him a tutorship, and later, in 1802, selected him for the newly established chair of Chemistry and Natural History. From the first moment that he began college teaching he was highly successful. The students greatly admired him. He was handsome, broad-minded, cultivated, magnetic, and seemed to belong to a new age. When he joined the College Church, in connection with the revival of 1802, his action created a profound impression on the student body. Under date of September 5, he wrote, "This day I intend, with the permission and assistance of the good Spirit of God, to give myself up publicly in a perpetual covenant with God as my Father, with Jesus Christ as my Saviour, and with the Holy Ghost as my Sanctifier." Suffice it to say that he continued through life faithful to this resolve. The genuine interest in religion among the students was so great at this time that sixty-three of them united with the Church of Christ in Yale College.[8]

Silliman's call to a full professorship at the age of twenty-three is remarkable in Yale annals. The nearest approach to it is the case of Alexander M. Fisher (q.v.), who was promoted to a similar position when only twenty-five. The selection honors Dr. Dwight as much as Tutor Silliman, for the latter had not as yet made any really scientific study of the subjects covered by his professorship. But the President clearly recognized his latent capacity. The young teacher accepted the appointment, spent two winters studying in Philadelphia, which, thanks to the influence of Benjamin Franklin, was then the principal center of scientific work in America, and April

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[8] *Quarterly Register* for 1838, p. 296, Article by Professor Goodrich, quoted in *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale*, p. 64.

4, 1804, gave to the Senior class at Yale, in a room in Mr. Tuttle's house on Chapel Street, opposite South College, a lecture on "the history and progress, nature and objects, of chemistry."[9] The date and place deserve commemoration, for this was the beginning of the teaching of science—other than mathematics—at Yale, on anything like a modern basis. "Natural Philosophy" had, indeed, been made part of the title of a professorship in 1770, and had been effectively taught even earlier by President Clap—but before Silliman's day the instruction in science had been practically without experiment or laboratory tests. In comparison with his Yale predecessors, he seems like a modern man. He could easily have adjusted himself to the conditions of a twentieth century museum and laboratory, and this could not be said of the others. They were abreast of their time, but he was ahead of his, and was destined to be the most prominent figure of his generation in making modern science a reality to the American people. After a year's successful teaching, he went abroad for the purchase of apparatus, and for further study. He was entrusted by the Corporation with the responsible task of expending nine thousand dollars—a large sum for those days—in the "renewing" of the Library, and of the scientific equipment of the College. On his return he applied himself with increased enthusiasm to his work. In 1808 he began his courses of public lectures on chemistry which, in his later life, and especially in the decade beginning with 1834, became almost a national institution, as they were repeated in different parts of the country. His magnetic power as a teacher, his commanding presence, his melodious voice, and the newness and inherent interest of his subject, made his lectures extremely popular. He had the power, rare among college professors, of interesting working-men. This was so marked that Mr. James Brewster, of New Haven, erected Franklin Hall for the special purpose of providing evening instruction by Professors Silliman, Olmsted, and others, for the mechanics of New Haven. The founder of this movement believed that "this

[9] Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman,* Vol. I, p. 121.

was the first time . . . . that College Professors had gone out to lecture to the people upon natural and mechanical science."[10] Of Silliman's power as a lecturer, President Woolsey has given eloquent testimony that is amply borne out by other evidence:

> As a lecturer he was almost unsurpassed. Without a severe logical method, he threw so much zeal into his discourse, expressed himself with such an attractive rhetoric, and supported his doctrine by experiments of such almost unfailing beauty and success, that all audiences delighted to hear him; so that for years no lecturer so attractive could address an assembly, whether gathered within the walls of a college or from the people of crowded cities. In his own lecture-room the students felt the genial sway of his oratory. No other such instructions were given, uniting at once pleasure and improvement. Hence for many years the study of chemistry was, perhaps, the most popular one in the institution. In the latter years of his professional life the science of geology seemed to take the largest share of his interest. And, here, the grandeur of the subject-matter seemed especially fitted to kindle and exalt his fervor.[11]

In addition to his inspiring teaching, Silliman rendered to the University signal service in several directions. He was identified with the starting of the Medical School, where he was Professor of Chemistry and Pharmacy. He secured for the University, at a cost of twenty thousand dollars, its first great scientific collection—the Gibbs Cabinet of Minerals, containing ten thousand specimens. These were placed in the north end of the second floor of Connecticut Hall, which was made over into a single room.[12] He was also responsible for obtaining the Trumbull Collection of Historical Paintings, one of Yale's most priceless possessions, and valuable to every student of the American Revolution. The artist, Colonel John Trumbull, was an uncle of Mrs. Silliman—which, under the circumstances, was a most fortunate fact for Yale, as the Colonel was himself a Harvard graduate. But, perhaps, the greatest service which he performed for the University and for the country was the founding, in 1818, at large pecuniary risk, of the *American Journal of Science,* a magazine which still retains, under Yale editorship, a most important position in the scientific world. He conducted the Journal himself

[10] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 326. [11] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, p. 380. [12] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 256.

for twenty-eight years with signal success. It was so identified with his name that it was generally spoken of during his lifetime as "Silliman's Journal." To its pages he himself contributed largely, but, in spite of the importance of some of his articles, his fame rests not on his research work, but on his leadership in the cause of scientific education. This made it natural that he should be one of the original members of the National Academy of Sciences, founded in 1863.

In addition to his writings on chemistry and geology, he was the author of several well-known volumes of travel in Europe and America. He was an earnest friend of literary culture and of popular education, and a patriot. No officer of the University, from the death of the elder Dwight to the elevation of Woolsey to the presidency, was so well known in the country at large, and no one in its history has done more to assure the permanency of Yale's national position.[13] It was, therefore, not unnatural that, although a layman and a scientist, he was prominently mentioned for the succession to President Day. No finer tribute to Silliman has been paid than that of President Woolsey: "He was, among all the men who have lived in the city of New Haven during the century, as I think will be conceded by everybody, the most finished gentleman. And this was true of him in the highest sense. I mean, that it pertained not to his exterior, but to his character and his soul."[14] His biographer, Professor Fisher, has used these words of Cowper as suggestive of his subject:

> Peace to the memory of a man of worth,
> A man of letters, and of manners too!
> Of manners sweet as virtue always wears,
> When gay good nature dresses her in smiles.
> He graced a college, in which order yet
> Was sacred; and was honored, loved and wept,
> By more than one, themselves conspicuous there.

He is commemorated at the University by the Silliman Fellowship and the Silliman Professorship of Geology, by a statue in front

[13] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men*, p. 115.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 114.

of the old Sloane Physics Laboratory, by the Ives bust in the Library, and by two portraits. His papers, including sections of his manuscript journal, are in the University Library. An elaborate biography, in two volumes, has been prepared by Rev. Professor George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D., *Life of Benjamin Silliman, M.D., LL.D., Late Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology in Yale College.*

To the Hon. David Daggett and the Hon. Roger Minot Sherman, a committee of the association of the Alumni of Yale College

Gentlemen—In complying with the request contained in your note which I have the honor to acknowledge, I am influenced by a wish to promote, in however humble a manner, the design of the association which you represent; regretting, at the same time, that this step is rendered, to a degree, necessary, by the absence of the more important communication, which we had hoped for. I remain gentlemen with the highest respect

Your friend & servant

B. Silliman

Yale College
Aug 20—1842

As indicated on the reverse side of this dedication, it is the title page of "An address delivered before the association of the Alumni of Yale College in New Haven August 17—1842 by Professor Silliman." The entire manuscript is in the author's collection. It contains a memorandum showing that it was prepared in haste, being begun Friday night, July 20, and finished the following evening. As it contains thirty-eight sheets written on both sides, which when printed formed an octavo pamphlet of forty-four pages, and as it contains much historical and statistical matter, it must be conceded that its preparation in so short a time is good evidence of its author's mental alertness at the age of sixty-three. The address is mainly devoted to a comparison of conditions in 1792, when he was a Freshman, and in 1842, when he was Alumni Orator. It is specially

valuable for its descriptions of college life in the closing days of the Stiles administration. These have been frequently quoted in the text.

The Association of the Alumni was formed in 1827, but it assumed new importance with this meeting in 1842. Silliman's was the first of the regular series of Alumni Orations. These continued for a generation a prominent factor of Commencement week.

David Daggett (B.A. 1783) and Roger M. Sherman (q.v.), whose note requesting the address for publication is attached, were both eminent graduates. The former was a United States Senator and Chief Justice of Connecticut. The latter was Justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court.

Elias Loomis

Class of 1830

Born, August 7, 1811; Died, August 15, 1889

Authority on Meteorology

Elias Loomis is one of the most strongly marked personalities connected with the Yale teaching force in the nineteenth century. He was such a picturesque character, a man about whom so many quaint stories were told, that the Yale brotherhood has perhaps not fully appreciated the importance of his contributions to science. But these gained for him an election to the National Academy, and membership in many of the representative learned societies of Europe. His scientific knowledge and powers of presentation also made possible a series of mathematical text books that rendered a national service to education. He was the eldest son of a Connecticut Congregational minister, and was born in Willington, a hamlet in Tolland County. His preparation for college was mainly cared for by his father, although he had the advantage of one winter's study at the Monson (Massachusetts) Academy. He was ready for admission to Yale at fourteen, but postponed entering for another year, owing to feeble health.

His undergraduate course was marked by high, but not brilliant, scholarship in all studies. Although he later specialized in mathematics, he was at this time equally proficient in languages, having learned to read his New Testament easily in the original as a lad. President Porter, who was in the class behind him, remembered "the retiring demeanor of the young student, and his concise and often monosyllabic expressions, peculiarities which he retained through life."[1] During his last two years in college he roomed with Alfred E. Perkins, by whose early death in 1834 the College received ten thousand dollars for the Library, then the largest gift from any

[1] Newton, *Memorial Address*, p. 4.

individual since the time of Governor Yale. Loomis spoke at the Junior Exhibition on the "Unreasonableness of Popular Prejudice." His oration at Commencement was on "The Influence of Emulation on the Progress of Mental Improvement," but he was excused from speaking. "Mental Improvement" was the object to which he devoted his time as an undergraduate, but he was not so detached from student life as to fail to sign a petition supporting the "Bread and Butter Rebellion." In this Loomis and the great majority of undergraduates united, pledging themselves "to deathless friendship," as an evidence of sympathy for four expelled students who had refused to comply with the faculty order to return to Commons.[2] His signature, with that of Henry Barnard, Ray Palmer, and other well-known men, may be seen on the statement issued by the leaders of the rebellion August 1, 1828, supporting their position because the authorities had not made the steward observe the college law that he should "at all times cause the table to be decently spread and attended." He was much interested in the Linonia Society, in which he held important offices, and where he delivered as a "Senior Orator" an address on "The Advantages of Emulation in Literature." He was a member of the Moral Society, which he joined in Freshman year, as well as of the Philencratian Society. His Senior year autograph album—a Yale institution in the middle of the last century—is preserved in the University Library.

A year of school teaching near Baltimore, and of theological study at Andover, where he led his class in Hebrew, preceded his term as tutor at Yale. Here he taught Latin the first year, mathematics the second, and natural philosophy the third. It seems to have been the great meteoric shower of 1833, in which Professor Olmsted and Professor Twining were deeply interested, that turned his attention definitely to making science, and especially meteorological science, his life study.[3] His work as a tutor was highly

[2] Kingsley, *Yale College*, Vol. I, pp. 126, 127.
[3] Newton, *Memorial Address*, p. 6.

satisfactory. The fact is remembered that at this time, with crude instruments, he determined the latitude and longitude of the tower of the Athenæum (the old building south of Connecticut Hall) within two seconds of the most accurate modern computation.[4] He had the able Class of 1837 under his instruction, and later gained from one of its most representative men, Morrison R. Waite (q.v.), Chief Justice of the United States, this tribute: "If I have been successful in life, I owe that success to the influence of Tutor Loomis more than to any other cause whatever."[5] After a year of study in Paris, following the resignation of his tutorship, he accepted the professorship of Mathematics and Philosophy in Western Reserve College, an institution having many bonds with Yale, from which she received three of her Presidents and eleven of her Professors during her first half century. He served eight years there, and then went to similar positions at New York University, and at Princeton College. In 1860 he was elected to the professorship of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy at Yale, and returned to New Haven to spend the remainder of his life.

Professor Loomis' work was done in three educational lines: investigation, teaching, and the writing of text books. His most valuable researches were in the field of meteorology. These led him to devise a method of indicating atmospheric conditions that was of epoch-making importance in this science. The paper in which his investigations were recounted and presented in graphic form, was read in 1843, at the centennial meeting of the American Philosophical Society. The subject was the "Storms of 1842," and the paper, according to Professor Bache, the first presiding officer of the National Academy of Sciences, created "a great sensation." The charts he exhibited each included a series of lines of equal deviations from the normal average pressure for each locality, other lines drawn through points at stated intervals, above and below normal, colors

[4] *Yale Alumni Weekly* for 1912, p. 656.
[5] Newton, *Memorial Address*, p. 29.

representing the local sky as clear, overcast, or rainy, a series of lines indicating the normal temperature and temperature of ten, twenty, and thirty degrees below and above the normal, and arrows whose direction and length showed the prevailing winds. After giving a description of Professor Loomis' novel method, from which the above has been condensed, Professor Newton makes this significant statement:

> You have no doubt, most of you, already recognized in this description the charts, which today are so common, issued by the United States Signal Service, and by weather service Bureaus in other countries. The method seems so natural that it should occur to any person who has the subject of a storm under consideration. But the greatest inventions are ofttimes the simplest, and I am inclined to believe that the introduction of this single method of representing and discussing the phenomena of a storm was the greatest of the services which our colleague rendered to science. This method is at the foundation of what is sometimes called "the new meteorology," and the paper which contains its first presentation stands forth, I am convinced, as the most important paper in the history of that science.[6]

Connected with this graphic method of indicating atmospheric conditions was the active part he played in the movement which resulted in the establishment of the United States Weather Bureau. The weather was his main "hobby." He made investigations in many scientific fields, including the observation of shooting stars, the calculation of longitude, the velocity of the electric current, terrestrial magnetism, and comets, but his most substantial original work was in his papers on meteorology, most of which first appeared in the *American Journal of Science.* In connection with his services as an investigator[7] it is right to remember that he left to the University for the Observatory the ultimate use of a bequest of over three hundred thousand dollars, the income being available entirely for research and publication.

As a teacher he was clear-cut and logical. His unemotional, methodical appearance, exactness of speech and observation, and his terse, picturesque method of expression, made him the Faculty

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[7] In another field of investigation he published the *Loomis Genealogy,* with information about more than 27,000 descendants of his ancestor, Joseph Loomis.

"character" *par excellence.* Here are some recollections of one of his students:

> In the lecture room his talks on physics were incisive and condensed and his experiments worked out in advance with a care which rarely left room for imperfection, much less for failure, but usually prefaced with the saving remark "the nature of the phenomenon I conceive to be this." To him—and to another professor—of chemistry—is attributed the comment after the failure of an experiment: "Experiment fails, Principle remains." It was in a lecture before a division of the writer's class in the old building that stood just to the west of the present Connecticut Hall that the Professor scored one of his biggest experimental triumphs. He was secretly proud of his accurate aim with the air gun and had hit the little target thirty feet away several times and once at the center. Presently came a shot which seemed to miss the target altogether. The division laughed. Loomis peered at the target a moment, walked up to it, squinted sidewise at it again, drew out his pocket knife and dug out a bullet from the central hole. "Last bullet in the exact center over the first," said "Loom," and amid the thunders of applause from the benches one saw his lips part in his rare equation of a real laugh.[8]

It was as a writer of text books that he was best known to the public. These covered, in sixteen volumes, the whole field of mathematical work in high school and college, as well as natural philosophy, astronomy, and meteorology. They had an enormous success among teachers, six hundred thousand copies being sold during his lifetime, the sales forming the basis of the large estate which he left to the University. This series did much to improve the teaching of mathematics in the United States.

The University has had no more devoted servant than Elias Loomis. There are portraits of him in the Observatory and in the Dining Hall; and he is commemorated in other ways, by the Loomis Fund of over three hundred thousand dollars for astronomical research (in possession of the Treasurer, but subject to two annuities), by Loomis Place, the new street cut through Yale's Observatory property, and by the simple bronze Loomis memorial (opposite the main inner entrance to Woolsey Hall) bearing this legend: "An exact scholar, an astronomer of wide repute, in meteorology a pioneer

[8] *Yale Alumni Weekly* for 1912, p. 656.

and a large benefactor of this University." But the country benefited by his labors as much as Yale, for the present efficient Weather Bureau service, which is of vital importance to the agricultural and commercial interests of the entire population, is more his monument than that of any other man.

The most important sketch of Professor Loomis' life and character is the *Memorial Address,* by Professor Hubert A. Newton.

The letter is a brief one, dated "Yale College, May 6, 1886," regarding a biographical sketch. "The notice you sent me contains various errors and I propose to rewrite it, and I wish to know how full a notice you are willing to insert." The only letters of Professor Loomis which the author has seen are equally brief, business-like, and uninteresting from a literary standpoint.

James Dwight Dana

Class of 1833

Born, February 12, 1813; Died, April 14, 1895

Geologist and Mineralogist

Professor Dana had the distinction of following an eminent scientist in a University professorship, and of adding new luster to the reputation of the position. As Silliman's successor both in the chair of Geology at Yale, and in the editorship of the *American Journal of Science,* the best traditions were maintained, and even strengthened, especially on the side of original investigation. He was born in Utica, New York, and entered college as a Sophomore, being prepared at the Utica High School. He was attracted to Yale by the fame of Professor Silliman (q.v.). His undergraduate roommate was George E. Day, later Professor in the Divinity School, and part donor of the Day Mission Library. Dana showed himself a good scholar, especially in mathematics and natural science, but his record was not sufficiently brilliant to indicate his future eminence. His recorded averages were between 2.50 and 2.90 on the scale of four, and his appointment at graduation was only a Second Dispute. His classmates little dreamed that he was destined to become one of the world's greatest geologists. The Gibbs Collection of Minerals, then the most extensive in the country, had been placed on exhibition in Connecticut Hall, in 1812, and purchased by the College in 1825. This collection, the nucleus around which the Peabody Museum has been built up, deeply interested Dana. His biographer states that "no one is likely to overestimate"[1] its influence upon his mind. He was also attracted as an undergraduate to the study of geology by his walks near New Haven. The neighborhood is unusually rich both in picturesque scenery and in interesting geological formations. These expeditions, which were continued with his students when he

[1] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration,* p. 353.

joined the Faculty, led to his publishing later *The Four Rocks of the New Haven Region.* It is to be regretted that Dana's undergraduate habit of exploring the country-side is not a more regular feature of student life today. The German universities have much to teach American students in this matter.

Dana's biographer, Professor Gilman, sums up his reputation as a member of the Class of 1833 by saying that he "appears to have been modest, diligent, faithful, and upright giving the required attention to all the studies which made up the fixed curriculum, without attracting much notice."[2] He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa. One of the undergraduate organizations which most interested him was the Beethoven Society, in which he played the flute. Some of its records have been preserved, written in his hand as secretary.[3]

After graduation he served as an instructor in mathematics to midshipmen in the Navy (joining the "Delaware" in June of Senior year), and in this capacity visited the seaports of the Northern Mediterranean. This was followed, after a brief service as assistant to Professor Silliman, by a more important government appointment, that of Mineralogist and Geologist to the United States Exploring Expedition to the Southern Pacific, under Wilkes. This occupied almost four years. The study of the scientific material which he had collected, and the preparation of his reports on "Zoöphytes," "Geology of the Pacific," and "Crustacea" occupied the major portion of his time for over a decade.

In 1850 he was appointed to the Silliman Professorship of Geology at Yale, an appointment which seemed particularly appropriate in view of his own eminence, and of the fact that, having married a daughter of Professor Silliman, he was in the closest touch with the man who had laid the foundations of the University's scientific reputation. That he fully appreciated his inheritance is shown by these words of his inaugural address:

[2] Gilman, *Life of James Dwight Dana,* p. 19.

[3] An interesting account of Yale life when Dana was a student may be found in G. W. Nichols, *Letters from Waldegrove Cottage.*

I feel that it is an honored place, honored by the labors of one who has been the guardian of American Science from its childhood; who here first opened to the country the wonderful records of Geology; whose words of eloquence and earnest truth were but the overflow of a soul full of noble sentiments and warm sympathies, the whole throwing a peculiar charm over his learning, and rendering his name beloved as well as illustrious. Just fifty years since, Professor Silliman took his station at the head of chemical and geological science in this college. Geology was then hardly known by name in the land, out of these walls.[4]

The closing sentences are of special interest today when the department of Geology, using the term broadly, is thought by many to be the strongest in the country.

From the middle year of the nineteenth century to his death, Dana was intimately associated with his Alma Mater. He was an inspiring teacher, and a man of large influence in Faculty counsels. Although his own chair was in the College, he interested himself heartily in the establishment of the Sheffield Scientific School, being one of the few men of his generation who really took a university point of view. An evidence of this is the manuscript, in the author's possession, of an article written by him for the *Courant*. In it he lays down this sound doctrine regarding the presidency, which was all too rare in academic circles in his day:

The next President [of the University] should be . . . . in generous sympathy with all its various departments, always ready to use his influence and exert his efforts for the equal furtherance of all and for their harmonious progress; who will welcome funds for one department as gladly as for another, and make the whole tell upon the general good of the University.

The regard in which Professor Dana was held by his students is well shown by the following letter addressed to him by the Class of 1856:

In view of your course of Lectures on Geology, now about to close, the Senior class desire to assure you of the satisfaction and pleasure afforded them in listening to a course so highly interesting and eminently instructive, and to tender you their sincere acknowledgements of the same. It affords us, sir, no little gratification that we have been the first class privileged to enjoy your teachings, and be assured we shall ever cherish the most grateful appreciation of your efforts as an instructor and kindness as a friend. In parting we tender you, sir, the thanks and most cordial good wishes of the class of '56.[5]

[4] Gilman, *Life of James Dwight Dana*, p. 160.
[5] *Class of 1856, Record of Forty Years*, p. 14.

It was as a research scholar in science, as an interpreter of its results in terms of broad generalizations, and as a writer of standard text books, that his fame was mainly gained. Here is an authoritative estimate of his position in an address, delivered shortly after his death, by Professor Joseph Le Conte:

> There are few, very few, men (and becoming fewer every year) whose thoughts ranged so widely and who accomplished distinguished results in so many directions as did Dana. He became the highest living authority in mineralogy, in several departments of zoölogy,—as for example, crustacea and zoöphytes,—and, more than all, in geology. Of some two hundred and odd scientific papers contributed by him, more than one-half were on geology. Not only in the three sciences mentioned above was he in the foremost rank, but in other sciences also—as, for example, physics, chemistry, and even mathematics—his knowledge was wide and exact. As he grew older, however, his chief interest and highest activity gravitated more and more toward geology.[6]

Another authority has borne witness to the philosophical character of Dana's work. He was great, not merely because of his exhaustive studies in particular fields of exact research, but because he had the much rarer power of coördinating the results of investigation, and of deducing general principles of far-reaching significance. Professor Henry Shaler Williams has well stated this contribution:

> Before Dana, geology was doubtless in some sense a history—that is, a chronicle of interesting events; but with Dana it became much more, it became a philosophic history, a life history, a history of the evolution of the earth, and of the organic kingdom in connection with one another. For the first time there was recognized a time-cosmos governed by law as the true field of geology, as the space-cosmos governed by law is the field of astronomy. Before Dana, geology was the study of a succession of formations; with Dana it was the study of a succession of eras, periods, epochs, during which geographic forms and organic forms were both developing toward a definite goal. The underlying idea of his geological work, I repeat, was the evolution of the earth as a whole.[7]

The *American Journal of Science* was the medium for much of his scientific activity. He received the editorial torch from the honored hands of Silliman, and handed it over undimmed to his son, Professor Edward S. Dana (B.A. 1870). This position helped to

[6] Gilman, *Life of James Dwight Dana*, p. 248.
[7] *Journal of Geology*, September, 1895, quoted from Gilman, *Life of Dana*, p. 253.

James Dwight Dana

Class of 1833

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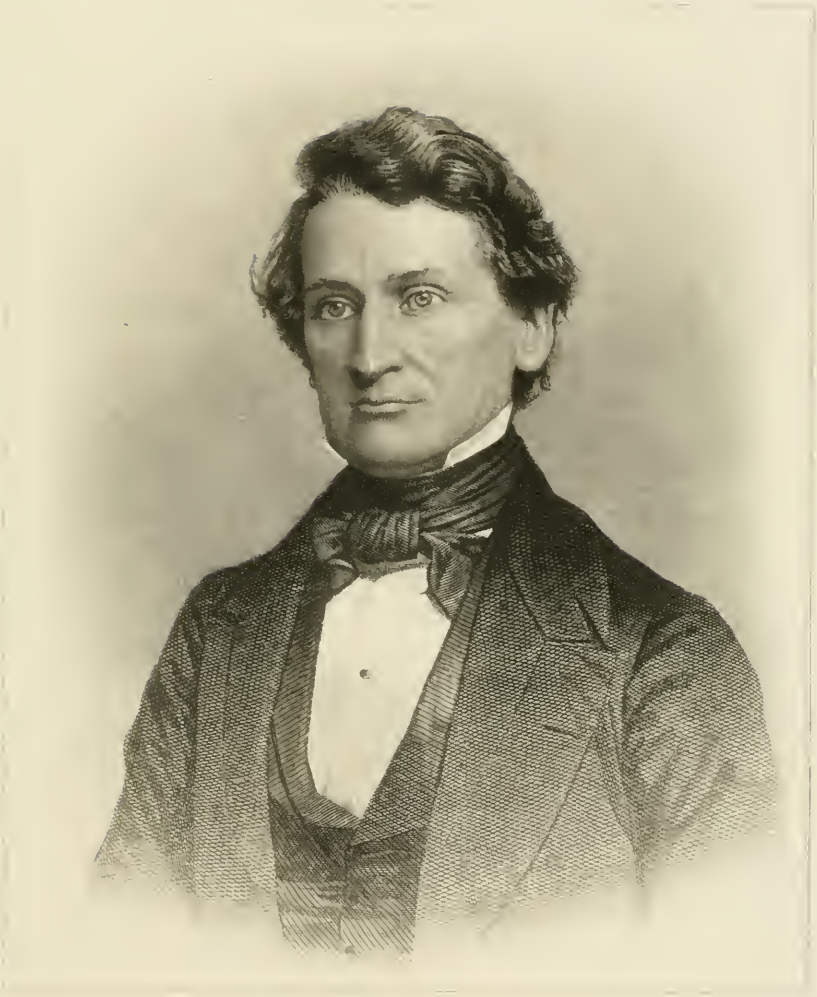

extend his reputation, which became international. It is interesting to note that he is so often mentioned in the congratulatory addresses presented to the University at the time of the Bicentennial Celebration. Among his foreign correspondents were Berzelius and Darwin, while his honors included membership in the Royal Academies of Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, Fellowship in the Royal Society of London (whose Copley medal he received), the Doctorate of Philosophy from Munich, and the Doctorate of Laws from Edinburgh. In his own country he was a member of the National Academy of Sciences, a Doctor of Laws of Harvard University and of Amherst College, and one of the early Presidents of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Among his books the *System of Mineralogy, Text Book of Geology,* and *Manuals* of Geology and of Mineralogy, continue to hold a high place. The first named was a particularly remarkable production, since the earliest edition appeared when its author was only twenty-four.

Professor Dana was a man of rare scientific distinction, noble Christian character and faith, and deep loyalty to the University. His portrait is in the Library, and members of the family have established the Dana Memorial Fellowship in Geology in his honor. The author well remembers the sense of the dignity of the scholar's career, and the inspiration to high thinking, that came to him as an undergraduate from merely passing Dana on the street, and seeing the rugged strength and beauty of his face. Daniel C. Gilman's *The Life of James Dwight Dana* is a worthy biography.

New Haven, May 30 1874.

My dear Prof. Rood,

Your manuscript is here and shall go into our August no.—that for July being full & overflowing. I thank you much for it.—

I am slowly regaining health & strength, and long for a chance to geologize among New England rocks.

Yours very truly

James D. Dana.

The printed letter-head is interesting as containing a succinct history of the first half century of the Journal over the signature of the two men who made it famous. It reads as follows:

American Journal of Science and Arts

(Founded by Professor Silliman in 1818) ended its 1st Series of 50 volumes, as a quarterly, in 1845, and its 2d Series of 50 volumes, as a two-monthly, in 1870.

A Third Series in monthly numbers commenced January 1871. Devoted to Chemistry, Physics, Geology, Mineralogy, Natural History, Astronomy, Meteorology, etc. Two volumes, of over 450 pages each published annually.

Editors and Proprietors: Professors Dana and Silliman. Associate Editors, Professors Gray and Gibbs of Cambridge; Newton, Johnson, Brush and Verrill of Yale; and Mayer, of Stevens Institute, Hoboken.

Subscription price $6.00 a year, or 50 cents a number. A few complete sets on sale of the first and second series.

Address Dana & Silliman, New Haven, Ct.

There is no institution connected with Yale University in which its graduates can properly take more pride. For nearly a century it has been a standard review, recording the progress of science, and adding materially to that progress by its own contributions. The extent of its influence, especially in the period when there was no rival in its broad field, has been unparalleled. An indirect service is the important group of scientific publications from all over the world, which come regularly to the Library as a result of its exchanges.

The last paragraph of the letter is characteristic of the main passion of Dana's life—he longs "to geologize among New England rocks." Professor Ogden Rood, of Columbia College, to whom the letter was addressed, was a graduate of Princeton, but he pursued postgraduate studies at Yale, under Dana and others, in the early days of the Scientific School.

JOSIAH DWIGHT WHITNEY
Class of 1839
Born, November 23, 1819; Died, August 18, 1896
Geologist

The four sons of Rev. David Dudley Field (B.A. 1802) have long been considered the most remarkable family group of distinguished men in the same generation in American history. But the Whitneys, sons of a Northampton banker, are good candidates for second place. Josiah (B.A. 1839) was an eminent geologist, James (B.A. 1856) and Henry (B.A. 1864) were well known as librarians, and William Dwight, who took his Bachelor's degree from Williams, but was a graduate student at Yale, and a Professor at the University for forty years, is recognized as America's leading philologist and Sanskrit scholar.[1] The fame of the last named has somewhat overshadowed that of his older brother, but Josiah Dwight Whitney deserves recognition as one of the few men whose work and methods have laid the foundations of the science of geology, and especially of geological surveying, in America.

He prepared for college at Andover, anticipated the studies of Freshman year, and entered Yale as a Sophomore in the autumn of 1836. A letter written to his sister, a few months later, shows the conditions under which his college course was begun.

. . . . Well, I suppose that you will like to hear how matters and things go on in College. Just imagine me with my feet on the top of an Olmsted[2] stove, my room-mate on one side of me and a table between us covered with books and papers to the height of 3 or 4 feet, engaged in writing a composition which has got to be read before the division the next day. No enviable task. Or imagine that I have just completed the formidable array of sums for the next recitation, and am ready to sit down and write you as long a letter as I can. Everything goes on in College in the same regular routine; recitation succeeds recitation. We go to breakfast,

[1] Compare the case of the four Livingston brothers referred to in the biography of William Livingston.
[2] Invented by Professor Denison Olmsted (q.v.).

dinner, and supper just like so many automatons. We now rise at 5½ o'clock, and have evening prayers at the same hour in the afternoon. Perhaps you would like to know how we spend our time that we have which we do not devote to study. In the first place, almost every student belongs to two or three literary societies, for which he has to furnish essays, debates, orations, etc. If a person attends to these as he ought to, they require a great deal of time. It is considered an honor to be elected into the societies in the two upper classes. This is one way in which time is consumed. There is another thing which is a sad enemy to time, namely "loafering," i. e. visiting one another's rooms without any ostensible purpose, to pass away time. Every one who rooms in College is liable to this, and this is the greatest objection to rooming in College.

Another thing which requires time and which every one must attend to if he hopes to have any sort of health, is exercise. For that purpose we walk about the streets and alleys of New Haven, play in the Gymnasium, etc. One of the great *bores* in college is declamation in the chapel, which we are obliged to perform twice a term before the faculty and all the students. I have made a good many pleasant acquaintances this term, not only in our class but in other classes. College is a world in miniature; there are a great many fine fellows who would appear to advantage anywhere, and a great many who are not fit for the literary pursuits of a college. . . . . But although engrossed with the busy cares and pleasures attendant on my residence here, do not think, my dear sister, that my feelings seldom revert to the scenes in which you are a partaker. Far from it,—"Home, sweet home" is ever present to my mind, to comfort and to cheer. . . . . I should suppose that all Northampton had been converted to Abolitionism as they have had so many lectures there. We don't hear so much about the subject lately, as we used to. Mr. Webster is expected to deliver an address here tomorrow, as he passes through on his way home. . . . . It is about the time now for playing ball, and the whole green is covered with students engaged in that fine game: for my part, I could never make a ball player. I can't see where the ball is coming soon enough to put the ball-club in its way.[3]

This letter breathes much of the spirit of modern Campus life, but the days when New Haven was a small town, and the students could play ball behind Trinity Church, have passed. College football on the Green has been made familiar to Yale men by Doolittle's engraving of 1807, but this is the earliest reference to Yale baseball which the author has noticed. Probably it was merely "one-old-cat" or "two-old-cat," for the modern game is thought to have been invented two years later.

[3] *Life and Letters of Josiah Dwight Whitney*, pp. 18-20. Modern baseball was not started at Yale until 1859. See *Yale Literary Magazine*, Vol. 26, p. 127. The first intercollegiate baseball game was played between Amherst and Williams, July 1, 1859.

When Whitney was a Junior we get another interesting glimpse of undergraduate life from a letter home:

The next day we returned and once more took up our stations in the cider-mill track of College Life. You cannot imagine a pleasanter room than that which, as No. 1, fell to my share; a corner room with two bedrooms, each in itself a pleasant room, delightfully shaded and looking out upon the Green, and comfortably furnished and ornamented with paintings by a "*distinguished master.*" Here I, solus, lounge or paint or fiddle or *study*,—the latter not very often however. We have enough to do; Optics, Astronomy, History, German, with lectures on clams and squids and lobsters and *shell*ology and also on Botany pretty well occupy our time. I have also commenced Painting in Oil, for my own amusement. . . . . If the day is pleasant, I very often go out of the city 3 or 4 miles, after breakfast, and spend the forenoon rambling about for flowers and sketches. Besides painting, which I devote as much time to as I can possibly spare, I am very enthusiastic in learning German. I and a classmate, who is from Pennsylvania, where they talk German a good deal, hardly speak to each other in English. I am reading Goethe's Autobiography. I have the honor to be elected member of the ΦBK and Chi Delta Phi societies.[4]

Like another eminent Yale scientist, Samuel F. B. Morse (q.v.), painting seems to have been one of Whitney's major undergraduate interests. He was also fond of music and was an officer of the Beethoven Society. His college years were not devoted to specialization. Chemistry was the study in which he was most interested, and Silliman's influence upon him was noticeable. He took good rank as a scholar, his Commencement part being a Colloquy "on the March of Intellect." He cared little for mathematics and physics, and detested philosophy. He found geology, and the reading of English literature, the most delightful avocations. Some of these intellectual likes and dislikes come out in a Senior year letter:

Here I am, the same as ever, studying Philosophy and Political Economy a little, painting a little, reading a little, fencing a little, doing nothing a good deal. I am dipping a little into the well of English literature of olden time together with my friend of the musical name. We are reading together Ben Johnson's plays occasionally, or Shakespeare, Jeremy Taylor, Chaucer, Spenser, or perhaps Dryden. Thus we spend many an evening quite comfortably, leaving Mathematics and all the ologies to be scattered to the winds. I think it a great privilege to have good libraries to resort to.[5]

[4] *Life and Letters of Josiah Dwight Whitney*, pp. 22, 23.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 24.

Whitney's later career was mainly connected with Harvard, where he held his professorship, but few men have entered more heartily into Yale life in its various aspects of give and take than he did as an undergraduate. Here is his own account of the last days, which will recall similar memories to every alumnus:

> Commencement, *the* era in a man's life, went off well, better than anybody expected: in fact it was hinted that a better commencement had not been attended at New Haven, and that a finer class never left the walls of Old Yale. However, you know that we never praise ourselves, so that you need not believe any more than you please. As I had to appear twice, once in a Colloquy besides my oration, and as I had to superintend the whole concern as chairman of the Committee, and to play the fiddle into the bargain, you may imagine that I was somewhat busy, and that no one was more rejoiced to feel that it was all over and successfully over, than myself, as we assembled together for the last time, as a class, to partake of a generous supper, at which were not wanting any of the requisites for enjoyment, and when the feeling of sadness that we were to sever those ties that had held us together for four years, was forced to yield to the general joy.[6]

The Commencement address referred to was a dissertation "on the inducements to the cultivation of the fine arts in this country."

Professor Whitney's career naturally divides itself into two periods—the twenty-five years after leaving college, mainly devoted to the work of technical preparation, and of geological surveying; and that from 1865 until his death, when he was engaged in training geologists at Harvard University. Dr. Hare's Chemical Laboratory in Philadelphia, the New Hampshire Survey, and five years of travel and study in Europe, gave him the necessary preliminary training. On his return to America, in 1847, he was identified with making and reporting various surveys, including the geological exploration of the Lake Superior region, the geological survey of Iowa, and the survey of Wisconsin, while his extensive travels and studies enabled him to publish *The Metallic Wealth of the United States described and compared with that of other Countries.* His career reached its climax in the years beginning with 1860, when he served as the first State Geologist of California; his broad duties, according to the legislative act creating the position, being "with the aid of such

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 24.

assistants as he may appoint, to make an accurate and complete geological survey of the state, and to furnish in his report of the same proper maps and diagrams thereof, with a full and scientific description of its rocks, fossils, soils, and minerals, and of its botanical and zoölogical productions, together with specimens of the same, which specimens shall be properly labeled and arranged, and deposited in such place as shall be hereafter provided for that purpose by the legislature."[7] What the scientific world thought of Whitney's fitness for this task is shown by Agassiz's letter to the Governor: "Considering the particular qualifications for a successful survey of your State, I have no hesitation in saying that there is only one man in the United States fully qualified for it, Mr. J. D. Whitney. . . . ."[8] The six volumes of the *Geological Survey of California,* published from 1864 to 1870, amply justified Agassiz's endorsement. It is recognized as the most important state survey made in America, because of the territory covered, the methods employed, the results achieved, and the invaluable training it gave to Clarence King (q.v.), and to others who were later to make the United States Geological Survey famous. It was the California organization "which first worked out the problem of handling great stretches of wild country,"[9] through triangulation, and it was the accomplishment of this great work that led Yale, in 1870, to confer on Whitney the degree of Doctor of Laws. When he heard of the honor, from his former associate, Professor William H. Brewer (q.v.), he wrote characteristically to his brother from San Francisco:

> My dear W. D. W.,—Yours of the 10th of July was found on my table last night, as I arrived, dusty and dirty, from the mountains. Also, among heaps of others, one from Brewer, informing me that my Alma Mater had honored me to a degree that I certainly never expected. Had I appeared before the Corporation in my yesterday's rig, with begrimed linen duster, skinny and shiny red nose, awfully battered hat, greasy pants stuck in my boots, and so on, what would they have thought of such an object as a recipient of their honors![10]

In 1865 he was elected Professor of Geology at Harvard, with general responsibility for administering the departments of geology

[7] *Ibid.,* pp. 184, 185. [8] *Ibid.,* p. 187. [9] *Ibid.,* p. 305. [10] *Ibid.,* p. 272.

and of mining. To this work he devoted with success thirty years of his life, although the first portion was largely occupied with completing the California survey—his *magnum opus,* for which his broad knowledge, large executive ability, indefatigable industry, and high scientific ideals, had peculiarly fitted him.

His honors included membership in the National Academy of Sciences, and the naming after him of Mount Whitney, the highest mountain in the United States.[11] He greatly advanced American geology by his vision, his mastery of system, and his patient investigations. He was distinguished in the field of general geology and of topography, rather than in that of scientific theory.

In the interesting *Life and Letters of Josiah Dwight Whitney,* by Edwin Tenney Brewster, his career is thus summarized:

> He filled a long lifetime with sound professional work: his monument is the unrivaled collection of books which he gave Harvard University, his reports on the natural resources of six states, a topographical method which will in time map the whole of North America, and two generations of professional geologists and topographers whom he trained.[12]

Cambridge, Mass
Dec 9 1872

My dear Sir:

Yours of Dec 6 is at hand. It is not for me to dictate what the Coast Survey should publish. All I wanted was, to explain why I was unable to keep my promise in regard to the improvement of the Chart. Ravenstein had no data from me: his map is better chiefly because his method was better. I shall go ahead & make my own map: should as soon think of throwing my materials into the Sea as of giving them to Colton.

Yours Very Truly
J. D. Whitney

This short letter is in many ways characteristic. It has to do with Whitney's main "forte"—geological surveying. The spirit of the letter shows that its author was a man of decided views as to men and affairs.

[11] Mount Mitchell, the highest peak of the Appalachians, was similarly named after another Yale scientist, Elisha Mitchell (B.A. 1813).

[12] *Life and Letters of Josiah Dwight Whitney,* p. 383.

William Chauvenet
Class of 1840

Born, May 24, 1820; Died, December 13, 1870
Mathematician

William Chauvenet has earned his position in this list of eminent Yalensians by his standard mathematical text books, and because of the leading part which he played in the founding and developing of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. He was born in Milford, Pennsylvania, near the Yale School of Forestry's summer home, but his youth was passed in Philadelphia, where his father, a man of education, was a grocer. It took much urging on the part of the son's teacher, who was impressed by the boy's mathematical talent, to persuade the father to allow him to be fitted for college, as the elder Chauvenet was anxious to have him carry on the family business. He accomplished in one year all of his preparation in Latin and Greek, and at the close of Freshman year took a prize for Latin composition.[1] He was a well-rounded and able scholar, and was thankful when he became a distinguished mathematician for the symmetrical development which the old-time required college curriculum afforded. Yet it should not be forgotten that he gave promise as an undergraduate of brilliant power in mathematics. He led his class from the first in this subject, and in Senior year astonished his instructor by originating new methods for the solution of difficult problems. The early part of his text book on trigonometry, for which there is still a regular demand, was prepared before his graduation. The subjects of his orations at the Junior Exhibition and at Commencement are interesting. The first was "on the study of nature," the second "on the connection between Science and Poetry." He contributed several articles to the "Lit." Their subjects were "Ancient Science,"

1 *National Academy of Sciences. Biographical Memoirs.* Vol. I, p. 231.

"Music," "Manly Sensibility," "Philosophical Anthology," and "Science and Religion." He was long remembered by undergraduate contemporaries for his musical ability. This led to his becoming prominent in the Beethoven Society—the object of which, according to its constitution, was "the cultivation of *Sacred Music* in this seminary." That this exclusively pious purpose was not long maintained is shown by an entry in the minutes in the summer term of Chauvenet's Sophomore year: "The Secretary is happy to remark at this time that the Sabbath evening anthems have produced the desired effect. About fifty Young Ladies were present last Sabbath evening and appeared uncommonly devotional!!—"[2] The exclamation marks tell the story. This organization, when Chauvenet was its pianist, gained much contemporary note by supplying the music one Commencement, in place of a well-known New York orchestra.[3] He was so good a musician that he at one time hesitated as to whether to make mathematics or music his major work in life.

Professor Chauvenet always remembered his University days with pleasure and gratitude. He cherished copies of the poems of Byron and of Wordsworth, with the signatures of President Day, which had been presented to him as prizes in English composition and in Latin. For twenty years after graduation he kept a commonplace book in which the events in the lives of his college friends were carefully recorded.[4]

In 1841 he accepted the position of Instructor in Mathematics at the United States Naval Asylum in Philadelphia. Here, two years previously, a course of eight months' training for midshipmen had been instituted, and here, under his leadership, the foundations of modern naval education in America were laid. When he took charge of the work the apparatus of the institution consisted "of one worn out circle of reflection, and a small blackboard, not even fastened to the wall but rested on the floor of the dark basement room in which

[2] MS. Records of the Beethoven Society, for August 3, 1838.
[3] Kingsley, *Yale College*, Vol. II, p. 484.
[4] MS. letter from W. M. Chauvenet, November 6, 1912.

informal and irregular recitations were held."[5] Chauvenet's energy and tactful dealings with the Secretary of the Navy and with officers soon improved conditions, and brought about a regular and symmetrical course of study. He was constantly urging far-sighted plans for further development. In 1845 the institution was transferred to Annapolis, and formally organized with Chauvenet as one of the Board of Directors, Professor of Astronomy and Mathematics, and Director of the Observatory. "For the next 14 years he was the chief agent in building up the Academy."[6] He was "always the most prominent of the academic staff,"[7] and it is no exaggeration to say that to him, more than to any single individual, except the Secretary of the Navy, George Bancroft, was due the broad foundation of a sound naval education of officers, which was to prove so invaluable to the Union cause during the following decade. Chauvenet's scientific writings, and success as a teacher at Annapolis, had attracted broad attention. Yale twice offered him professorships—first in Mathematics, and later in Astronomy and Natural Philosophy, but he continued at the Naval Academy until 1859, when he accepted the chair of Astronomy and Mathematics in Washington University, St. Louis. The duties of the chancellorship were added a few years later, on the death of his Yale classmate, Joseph Gibson Hoyt. With the honorable performance of the duties of these positions the later years of his life are mainly identified.

Professor Chauvenet is best known to the public through his text books, especially the *Treatise on Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, Manual of Spherical and Practical Astronomy,* and *Treatise of Elementary Geometry.* These publications were as far removed as possible from the ordinary text books that any good college teacher can prepare for the press, by request, at a month's notice. They were scientific works of the highest merit, combining the results of original

[5] *History of the Origin of The United States Naval Academy, A letter from Prof. William Chauvenet to Mr. T. G. Ford,* p. 4.
[6] Dexter in *Yale Obituary Record* for 1871, p. 25.
[7] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. I, p. 595.

investigations and the best conclusions of European mathematicians. Unlike most efforts in the same field they were marked by real purity of language. His biographer before the National Academy of Sciences, of which Chauvenet was Vice-President at the time of his death, quotes with approval a reference to one of these books as "the most complete treatise on trigonometry in the English language," and adds, "It is the only text-book in any branch, I have ever used, which I never criticized or found fault with."[8]

He did much for mathematical education in America, but his most lasting monument is the systematic, well-rounded, and thorough system of naval instruction at Annapolis. Secretary Bancroft is rightly regarded as the founder of the Academy, but Chauvenet did much to direct his attention to its necessity and feasibility, prepared the way for his success, and did more than any one else to establish the institution on a firm and scientific basis.

U. S. Naval Asylum, Philadelphia,
November 7, 1843.

Dear Sir:

It gives me great pleasure to comply with your request by testifying to the superior scholarship of your former pupil, Mr. Charles W. Quick, of this city. Having had ample opportunity of becoming acquainted with his abilities both in Philad[a] and at Yale College (of which he is a distinguished graduate,) I have no hesitation in saying that in my judgment he is qualified to discharge the duties of an instructor of the mathematics and the classics in any institution of the country. That he will be eminent as a scholar is not doubted by any who have seen him advancing continually against the most formidable obstacles and winning laurels among the first talent of the nation under difficulties that would have overwhelmed any one not possessed of his extraordinary energy and industry.

I am with much respect
Your friend &c
William Chauvenet

Dr. Samuel Jones
Present
} Principal Class: & Math: Institute.

[8] *National Academy of Sciences. Biographical Memoirs.* Vol. I, pp. 237, 238.

Mr. Quick, of whom Chauvenet speaks in such high terms, was graduated from Yale in 1843, and died in 1894. He edited *The Episcopal Recorder* and other religious publications, and was prominent in the movement which led to the establishment of the Reformed Episcopal Church.

The letter is dated from the "U. S. Naval Asylum, Philadelphia" during the winter of 1843-44, at a time when Chauvenet was making his most strenuous efforts to introduce a good system of naval education into America. The natural difficulties in securing favorable action were increased by the fact that the secretaryship of the Navy, during the four years of his work at Philadelphia, was held by six different men.

Hubert Anson Newton

Class of 1850

Born, March 19, 1830; Died, August 12, 1896

Meteorologist and Mathematician

Professor Newton's career was outwardly uneventful, but it meant much to the cause of science in America, especially in two very different fields—the study of meteors, and the recognition of the metric system. In the first he was recognized as an international authority, and it is upon his contributions to it that his fame rests. Of the second he was an earnest and successful advocate.

He was born in Sherburne, New York, the fifth son in a family of eleven children. His mother was a woman known for her character, judgment, and mathematical powers, while the father, who was a contractor, had much to do with construction work on the railroads and canals in the western section of the state. The son prepared for college at the local schools and was admitted to Yale when sixteen. He did not live on the Campus, and was not prominent in the social life of undergraduates, which, for this period, is cleverly illustrated in *The College Experiences of Ichabod Academicus,* published in 1849. He joined Linonia, and was one of its presidents in Senior year. At that time the interest in the society seemed to be waning. At one meeting both of the Seniors appointed to read compositions failed to respond, as did also two of the regularly chosen disputants for the debate. The members were indignant and great excitement prevailed. Then "Mr. Newton of the Senior class appeared upon the floor, a supporter of the negative. His speech was sound and was listened to by the Society with marked attention."[1] So read the old records. We find him debating the question "Is a Congress of Nations practicable and desirable?" taking the negative. In another place the records tell us that he was called upon and "with his usual

[1] MS. Records of the Linonian Society, October 31, 1849.

promptness responded in an able speech."[2] He delivered an oration on India at the Junior Exhibition, but had no special "part" at Commencement, in spite of his respectable standing as a scholar. He was a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and retained his interest in it, acting as its graduate President during the last four years of his life. He was always a loyal Yale graduate, serving as Secretary of his class, and publishing the Decennial and Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Records.

After graduation he studied mathematics both at Yale and in his own home, and, in 1853, was appointed a college tutor. His work in this position was so satisfactory that two years later, at the unusually early age of twenty-five, he was elected to succeed Professor Stanley as head of the department of Mathematics, with the privilege of a year for graduate study in Europe. This professorship he held until his death—forty-one years later. With it his main life work is identified.[3] In the early days of his teaching he was specially interested in higher geometry, but the showers of shooting stars in the autumn of 1863, following the appearance of some remarkable meteors, turned his attention definitely to a little-known department of mathematical astronomy. Here he brought law and order out of chaos, doing more than any of his American contemporaries to develop the science of meteorology, and to establish it on a firm footing. This result was due not so much to his own discoveries, as to his power to coördinate the observations of others, and to deduce, by difficult mathematical calculations, laws which would satisfactorily account for phenomena widely scattered in time and place of observation. His conclusions were embodied in an elaborate paper "On Shooting Stars" printed in the *Memoirs of the National Academy of Sciences*. In this publication he determined the number, frequency in space traversed by the earth, velocity, and form of the orbits of

[2] *Ibid.*, November 14, 1849.

[3] Earlier eminent Yale mathematicians were Jared Mansfield (B.A. 1777), Professor at West Point, Surveyor General of the United States, and author of the first volume of original mathematical papers published in America, and Theodore Strong (B.A. 1812), an original member of the National Academy of Sciences.

meteors, and their close relationship to comets. Professor Newton foretold the return of the meteoric showers in 1866. Of this and similar predictions the great Italian astronomer, Schiaparelli, said: "Not since the year 1759, when the predicted return of a comet first took place, had the verified prediction of a periodic phenomenon made a greater impression than the magnificent spectacle of November, 1866. The study of cosmic meteors gained thereby the dignity of a science, and took finally an honorable place among the other branches of astronomy."[4] Another eminent European astronomer has borne even more direct witness to Professor Newton's contributions to the subject of meteors and shooting stars, and their orbits. He wrote in 1867: " We may find in the works of M. Newton, of the United States, the most advanced expression of the state of science on this subject, and even the germ, I think, of the very remarkable ideas brought forward in these last days by M. Schiaparelli and M. Leverrier."[5]

In Professor Newton's extensive bibliography most of the papers have to do with meteorology—the motions of the wanderers in the heavens. He never tired of the theme. He wrote, in 1883, the article on Meteors in the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* then much more of a British, as distinct from an international, publication, than it is today. In 1886, as retiring President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, he similarly chose as his theme "The Meteorites, the Meteors, and the Shooting Stars." The collection of meteorites, given to the University by his daughters, commemorates this field of his special interest.

His work as one of the leading founders of modern meteorology should not cause us to forget the conspicuous service of a more practical character which he rendered as an advocate of the metric system, and as a college teacher and officer. He was one of the original founders of the American Metrological Society, and was "conspicu-

[4] Quoted by Gibbs, in his National Academy *Memoirs of Hubert Anson Newton,* p. 108.
[5] *Ibid.,* p. 110. (Quoted from M. Faye, in *Comptes Rendus,* Vol. LXIV, p. 550.)

ously active"[6] in the movements which resulted in the congressional action of 1866, legalizing the metric system. He began writing on this subject in 1864, and two years later was asked to prepare the official table of the metric equivalents for the units of weight and measure in customary use for the House of Representatives bill, which was duly enacted. But he was not satisfied with legislative success. It was followed up by earnest work with publishers of school arithmetics, and with manufacturers of various instruments of precision—so that public opinion might be educated to the advantages of the new system. In this movement one of his most effective co-workers was Frederick A. P. Barnard (q.v.), whose interesting letter on the adoption of the new standards is published elsewhere in this volume. As a teacher, Professor Newton was successful. He had a keen love for his subject, which was contagious among the more ambitious students. As he said on receiving the honor of the Smith Medal of the National Academy for his investigations on the orbits of meteoroids, "It gives joy to tell others of the treasure found."[7] He was a faithful and devoted college officer, never shirking the routine work which connection with the College Faculty has always involved. Yet he found time for his scientific studies, and for playing his part as a citizen by membership in the New Haven Board of Aldermen. It was in the Yale Observatory, of which he was for many years the Director, that he did his most important administrative work. This institution, which had earlier received its fine grounds by gifts from generous members of the Hillhouse and Winchester families, was formally organized in 1882, when the present buildings were erected. Professor Newton was proud of Yale's record in astronomy, including the work of such men as the brilliant young genius Ebenezer Porter Mason (q.v.), Joseph Stillman Hubbard (B.A. 1843), and Yale's Treasurer, Edward Claudius Herrick (Hon. M.A. 1838), and he was glad of the opportunity to organize, on a permanent basis, the

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Observatory, in whose establishment President Dwight says that "he was perhaps the most efficient agent. . . . ."[8]

He was honored by having his biography written by his greatest American scientific contemporary, Professor Willard Gibbs (q.v.), who was for a generation his intimate friend and Faculty colleague. This is Gibbs' well-deserved tribute to his character:

> In all these papers we see a love of honest work, an aversion to shams, a caution in the enunciation of conclusions, a distrust of rash generalizations and speculations based on uncertain premises. He was never anxious to add one more guess on doubtful matters in the hope of hitting the truth, or what might pass as such for a time, but was already ready to take infinite pains in the most careful testing of every theory. With these qualities was united a modesty which forbade the pushing of his own claims and desired no reputation except the unsought tribute of competent judges. At the close of the article on meteors in the Encyclopædia Britannica, in which there is not the slightest reference to himself as a contributor to the subject, he remarks "Meteoric science is a structure built stone by stone by many builders." We may add that no one has done more than himself to establish the foundations of this science, and that the stones which he laid are not likely to need relaying.[9]

Professor Newton received many honors, some of which have already been mentioned. Others included fellowship in the Royal Societies of London and of Edinburgh. These were evidences of the solid reputation he established. He was not, like Gibbs, practically the creator of a science, but he did more than any of his contemporaries to inspire interest in meteorology, and to bring it under the domain of law. This could only have been effected by one who was equally proficient in mathematics and astronomy, and who had enough vision to deduce general principles from a confused mass of recorded phenomena.

A *Memoir of Hubert Anson Newton,* by J. Willard Gibbs, was read before the National Academy of Sciences in 1897, and later published as one of its *Biographical Memoirs.*

Paris Nov. 27. 1855. This morning after taking a cup of coffee and a crust of bread (in France the bread is all crust) I considered more or less attentively some propositions in Geometrie Superieure until 10 o'clock when I took my

[8] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men,* p. 397.
[9] Gibbs, *Memoirs of Hubert Anson Newton,* p. 117.

breakfast. At 10½ was a lecture. I was there 10 minutes late and waited five minutes for the Prof. The lecture room does not compare with ours for comfort there being no backs for the seats and no alley so that to reach the front seats we walk down stepping on the seats. A clumsy arrangement that. The Prof. has so far been uniformly late. Perhaps his watch is slow. It must run too slow he finished about 1¾ hours after the time for the beginning.

But here he comes. He is a man about 65 a little more probably. He has a raw beefy looking countenance and his appearance otherwise is not much different as he need not be ashamed to place himself on the other beam of the scales from Mr. Skinner. He certainly does not give his personal countenance to the remark that I have heard made that Mathematicians are spare & skeleton-like. Like Memory in the poem (Colton will recollect the allusion if you dont) he stands sideways. With one hand in his pocket, he chalks out the diagrams & formulas with the other. He never looks up at the class. I mistake, he did once look up and the expression was so ludicrous that we could not help laughing. In time he finished. That is at the close of one of his sentences without changing his manner or looking up he closed a book he had on the table walked towards the door and taking his hat stepped out while we waited to hear the next sentence. We looked at the spot where we [he] disappeared then at each other then laughed then concluding the lecture was over dispersed. This lecturer is Sturm one of the greatest mathematicians in all Europe. From the Sorbonne I went across the city to my bankers where I was rejoiced to find a letter from my old roommate Brewer. (Little's name was on the register. Called on him but he was out) Went to Amer. Ministry for visa. Thence went the Champ de Mars. . . . . The King of Sardinia is here now and the Emperor reviewed the few troops kept in Paris for his diversion. I am fortunate in having witnessed the parade.

Verily I have seen the French Empire. L. Napoleon said "the Empire is peace." To days pageant was peaceful but it spoke of peace in more senses than one. Those 40000 bayonets are the empire & make the peace of Paris. God Grant we may never need (I will not say have) such an empire, or such a peace in America. . . . .

No one who reads the biographies in this work can fail to appreciate the power of the *wanderjahr* in American education. It is seen in most striking form in the experiences of men like Woolsey and Winthrop, but it has meant much to most of the Yale scholars of the nineteenth century. Newton was no exception. This home copy of a letter to a college friend is typical. Descriptions full of humor of

foreign university scenes, references to classmates, and other Yale friends (W. S. Colton, B.A. 1850, a fellow tutor; John H. Brewer, B.A. 1850, his roommate, and Robbins Little, B.A. 1851), and contemporary accounts of French life and politics—such are characteristic touches. The experience of eminent Yalensians shows that there is no better investment than a year abroad between college and the more strenuous work of life. Newton's studies at Paris were mainly under Chasles and Sturm. He was specially influenced by the former. As this journal letter is not signed, a signature has been added from another source.

Samuel William Johnson

Class of 1851-1853

Born, July 3, 1830; Died, July 21, 1909

Founder of the Agricultural Experiment Station Movement

The rapid progress of scientific agriculture in the United States is largely the result of Professor Johnson's pioneer efforts. He was born in Kingsboro, New York. On both sides he was descended from old Connecticut stock. His formal studies were carried on in the district schools and at the Lowville Academy, where there was a good teacher of science. But as a preparation for his career the life of the farm and of the home doubtless contributed as much as the schoolroom. He dedicated his first book to his father, a very intelligent farmer, whom he called his "earliest and best instructor." Before entering Yale his attention had been drawn to agricultural chemistry. He had begun to write scientific articles, and at the early age of sixteen had fitted up a laboratory in his parents' home. His appetite for research had been whetted, and after a couple of years of schoolteaching, he determined to pursue advanced studies. In the autumn of 1849 he decided definitely to go to Yale. Six months earlier his eyes had been gazing longingly at the opportunities which the University's laboratories afforded. "When I have accumulated a few hundred dollars, I will take a course of instruction in Yale College Laboratory, but until then how long! But my soul gather thee for the conflict, for the toil, since great is the reward."[1]

In *Analyses of Limestone,* published in April of this same year, he gives a clear statement of the purpose of his own life work.

> Much is to be hoped from the labors of scientific men, conducive to the interests of agriculture. The farmer has to deal with nature; to follow intelligently his business supposes a knowledge of her laws. These laws are the professed object of the chemist's inquiry, and hence follows,—what experience has a thousand times

[1] Osborne, *From the Letter-Files of S. W. Johnson,* p. 14.

established,—the ability of the chemist to fashion his practice so as best to assist and imitate nature, and consequently to gain from her the greatest amount of benefit.[2]

In January, 1850, he began in earnest his work in the Scientific School. Here were his first impressions, recorded after his visit to New Haven a couple of months earlier, when he had his important and decisive conference with Professor John Pitkin Norton (q.v.):

I write from the classic shades of old Yale. The "City of Elms" is at present my stopping place. I left Flushing Wednesday at 2 o'c. P.M. and, thanks to Robert Fulton and the paddles of the splendid steamer "Connecticut," at 9 o'c. P.M. I was set down in New Haven. I soon found my old friend C. Storrs, from whose room in North College I am now writing. I shall probably return to Flushing tomorrow. My session of 5 months is closed. We have no regular vacation, but the departure of many of the students at this the regular time of departure leaves us without a very pressing amount of business, and so I have taken a short respite. My present idea is to return to Flushing and remain two months, until Dec. 6th, and then take up my residence in New Haven. I have visited the Analytical Laboratory which is hardly a stone's cast from my pen's point, have seen and conversed with Prof. J. P. Norton. . . . . He is a fine specimen of a polished, real live Yankee (I should judge), very plain, unpretending, and possesses a "quantum sufficit" of common sense. The encouragements he holds out to me are of the most flattering kind. The success of his enterprise, the "Chemical School," is beyond that of the Cambridge establishment, and since expenses of living are so much cheaper here than there I am decided that this is the place. In answer to my inquiries concerning the support a chemist could command, he said that there were two situations to one man already, that he had applications now that he could not fill and had been obliged to send away young men to fill places before he wished to; that is, before they had fully completed their course. He thinks there is no risk in getting lucrative employment, especially as Professors and Teachers of *Agricultural Chemistry*. My expenses here would be about $350 or $400. And here let me say a few words as to the funds I have at disposal. The wages for my winter's work were $80. for my summer's $150. = $230. Where is it? Oh where is it? where? ———? I have given about $20. in obedience to the golden rule, to whom I may not say. I believe it was well given. My journey home cost about $10. My return cost me nothing. A watch cost $12. I have procured clothes to the amt. of $15., $30 or more has gone for books,—*all good serviceable necessary books*. My present expedition consumes with the utmost economy—shilling dinners at restaurants, $10. A dozen excursions to New York, etc., have cost as many dollars. Sightseeing, all laudable for I don't give money without getting its worth, has taken more. I have improved my leisure hours with chemical study and experiments—this has used money—and I

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 15.

have only about $100. left. Two months more will swell the amount to $150. This will keep me in Yale 6 mo., then I can look out for ways and means to raise more. My bodily appetites I can control, so that I have only one passion that is a well ridden hobby horse that consumes money *without* control, and that is a love of books, or what is in them.[3]

Norton, the two Sillimans, Dana, and Porter were giving courses that interested Johnson, and they took a keen interest in their promising student. His college days were busy ones, involving not only the routine work of a special graduate student, but the writing of articles for the *American Journal of Science,* the study of German preparatory to going abroad, and the necessity of helping towards his own self-support by some commercial analytic work. His purse was always nearly empty and he often cooked his own meals for the sake of economy. The influence of Yale upon him was mainly through contact with the eminent scientists on its Faculty, some of whom treated him almost as much as an associate as they did as a pupil. After over two years of work in their laboratories, interrupted by a winter's teaching in Albany, he determined upon further study abroad. He spent a couple of years with the leading chemists in Leipsic, Munich, and Paris, and investigated the most approved English experimental farms. The winter under Liebig in Munich was probably the most stimulating single experience, especially as he became intimate with him personally.

In the summer of 1855 Professor Silliman, Jr. (B.A. 1837), wrote him the following letter which throws interesting light on conditions at Yale in the early days of the Scientific School:

I have the pleasure to inform you that you have been nominated *Assistant Professor of Chemistry in the Yale Scientific School* and as soon as your appointment has been confirmed by the Corporation, which will be on the 26 of July, you will have official notice of it. We have for the present decided to offer you as salary six hundred dollars pr. annum; as an officer of the College you will, I suppose, be entitled to a room in the College buildings if you wish to use it, and you can eke out your salary, should you wish to do so, by private instruction in the schools.

Your name appears in the July No. of the Journal as Assistant, which liberty I hope you will pardon. Prof. Porter and myself are responsible for your salary,

[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 22, 23.

but $200 or $250 will be the income of a permanent fund, the remainder if not earned by the Laboratory will be made up by us. We are sorry to be obliged to offer you so inconsiderable a sum, but as you know the Laboratory is unendowed, and we are forced to make it pay its own expenses, i.e. salaries of yourself and Mr. Chas. Porter and the material and apparatus, fuel and servant, etc. For ourselves we do not expect to draw a dime from it, and shall consider ourselves fortunate if we do not have to make up a considerable deficit. With the new organization, however, we hope for a new vitality in the condition of the Laboratory. The new system of instruction in the Senior Class by which recitations are substituted for lectures in the proportion of 24 of the former to 36 of the latter will, when it comes into full play the ensuing winter, develop all the chemical talent that there is in the class, and no doubt induce some to enter the Analytical Laboratory who otherwise would not do so. Mr. Chas Porter, who is the second in authority, yourself being first, will take the commercial analyses and aid you in such things as you may desire. During the first term I shall have 3 exercises daily with the general class, and can, of course, devote no time to instruction in the Analytical Laboratory. But in the 2d and 3d terms I shall undertake to give instruction in mineralogy and in technical chemistry. Until Brush comes home in the fall of '56 we shall hardly be able to make our scheme complete, and shall hold ourselves open for a remodeling. . . . . The old laboratory is in a good deal of a dilapidated condition and needs repairs very much. These we shall hope to make in vacation.[4]

He consequently returned immediately to take charge of the Yale Analytic Laboratory. In this he was so successful that he was promoted to a professorship the following year. The title of the chair was slightly changed from time to time, indicating the main emphasis of his work. In 1857 it was Agricultural and Analytical Chemistry, while a decade and a half later it became Theoretical and Agricultural Chemistry. The Analytic Laboratory, in the old president's house on the site of Farnam Hall, may be considered the original home of the Scientific School of the University, which, in 1861, was given the name of its munificent benefactor, Joseph Earl Sheffield. It was opened in 1847 by Professor John Pitkin Norton (q.v.), who had been Johnson's teacher, and whose early death, in 1852, was a public misfortune.

In the year of his appointment to the Yale professorship, Johnson also became Chemist of the Connecticut State Agricultural Society. In 1857 he issued his first report, which had an enormous

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 91.

influence on the history of science as applied to agriculture, especially through its discussion of commercial fertilizers and similar subjects. A member of the National Academy writing of it says:

> This report was much more than a chemist's statement of analytical results and has had a lasting influence. It instructed the farmer in many things of great practical importance to the proper conduct of his business and set a standard for those who have since been engaged in the application of science to agriculture. One cannot fail to recognize in this report the beginning of the movement which later led to the establishment in every State of the agricultural experiment stations, which are now filling such an important place in the development of American agriculture. We can fairly say that Professor Johnson was himself the first agricultural experiment station in this country.[5]

The Agricultural Society was not a sufficiently representative or permanent body to carry the movement, so, after much agitation by Professor Johnson and his friends, a State Board of Agriculture was established. He was appointed its Chemist, and a laboratory was opened at Wesleyan University, with one of his former assistants, Wilbur O. Atwater (Ph.D. 1869), in charge. Thus, as a direct result of his efforts, the work of the Yale Laboratory was seconded by the commonwealth, and Connecticut had the first State Agricultural Experiment Station in the country. It is only when we realize the extraordinary services which these stations—now scattered through the land—have rendered in improving the methods, conditions, and products of American farming, that we can appreciate the significance of Professor Johnson's pioneer services. As President Gilman once said, the cost of the Sheffield Scientific School would have been repaid if it had done nothing more than uphold the idea of these experiment stations.[6] And it was no easy task to persuade an American legislature of the seventies[7] that scientific investigation and training could pay in dollars and cents. It required indefatigable energy, and a sense of mission, together with much power of popular presentation on platform and with pen, to accomplish this result.

[5] T. B. Osborne, in *National Academy of Sciences. Biographical Memoirs.* Vol. VII, p. 209.

[6] Gilman, *The Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University,* p. 31.

[7] Connecticut made its first appropriation, $2,800, in 1875.

These were all possessed by Professor Johnson in his prime. His use of them in the public service is a good example of the way a university can help its state, as now seen in its most striking form at the University of Wisconsin.

In 1877 Connecticut established its permanent Station in New Haven. This was long housed in the Sheffield Scientific School. Professor Johnson acted as Director, and here, along with the duties of his professorship, he established methods and standards of work which have profoundly influenced similar institutions elsewhere. Largely as a result of this the experiment stations of the country share the confidence of the theoretical scientists and of the farmers alike, and have been a national educational force. It was no exaggeration when President Hadley wrote: "It has been said that the most substantial contribution of the United States to applied science has been in using chemistry for the improvement of agriculture. Of this movement Professor Johnson was the leader. The whole system of agricultural experiment stations may well be regarded as his monument."[8]

Closely allied to this work was the field of publication. It was not only necessary that experts should investigate soils and fertilizers, the relation of chemistry to agriculture, and the composition and physiology of plants, but that someone should put in plain English for the average layman the conclusions of science on these subjects. This Johnson did, in classic form, in two books—*How Crops Grow* and *How Crops Feed,* published in 1868 and in 1870. They have passed through many editions, and have been translated into German, Russian, Swedish, and Japanese—the first also into French and Italian, with a reprint in England. They have been of international significance in creating an intelligent interest among farmers in agricultural chemistry, and even now, after forty years, continue in demand. He also wrote and edited other volumes, and articles in the *American Journal of Science,* the *American Chemical Journal,*

[8] *Report of the President of Yale University,* for 1910, p. 28.

and elsewhere. His bibliography includes over fifty scientific papers and twice as many educational articles, but his report of 1857 as Chemist of the State Board of Agriculture, the two books mentioned, and his annual Director's reports from 1877 to 1900, were probably his most important writings. In estimating his influence, his own teaching in the Sheffield Scientific School, and his work of direction in various laboratories, must not be overlooked. He was not magnetic to the average undergraduate, but he had that rare gift for an instructor—the power to communicate to his serious students a deep interest in science. If he could stimulate a few men of capacity to try to solve some large problem, it pleased him more than to gain the honor of solving it himself.

He was a quiet, retiring man, to whom the laboratory and scientific books represented, in addition to the home, the main interests of life, and yet he was able when aroused in early manhood to carry on a great educational campaign. He deserves a place of special honor in the memory of Yale men for accomplishing creative work of prime importance in agricultural chemistry, and for being the promoter and founder of the Experiment Station movement. This has added untold wealth to the country. In President Gilman's delightful address at the Bicentennial there is this paragraph:

> Agricultural science in the United States owes much to the influences which have gone out from the Sheffield School. John P. Norton, John A. Porter, Samuel W. Johnson, William H. Brewer, each in his own peculiar way, has rendered much service. Johnson is pre-eminent, and in addition to his standing as a chemist, is honored as one of the first and most persuasive advocates of the Experimental Stations now maintained, with the aid of the Government, in every part of the country. We cannot forget the value of "the crops": we may forget how much their value has been enhanced by the quiet, inconspicuous, patient and acute observations of such men as those whom I have named, the men behind the men who stand behind the plough. They are the followers in our generation of Jared Eliot, the colonial advocate of agricultural science.[9]

His memorials at the University are his valuable collection of scientific books given to the Library, and a portrait in the Sheffield

[9] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, p. 351.

Scientific School. Thomas Burr Osborne (B.A. 1881) has written a *Biographical Memoir of Samuel William Johnson* for the National Academy of Sciences. Mrs. Osborne, Professor Johnson's daughter, who has supplied the accompanying letter, has published an interesting biography under the title *From the Letter-Files of S. W. Johnson.*

New Haven Conn Oct 10th 1860

Mr. Sheffield

Dear Sir

However greatly the country at large may be indebted to your generous liberality in founding the Scientific School on a sure basis I feel that no individual has more cause of gratitude than myself.

What gratification it has been to me to plan in part and watch the growth of a Laboratory which thanks to your bounty is superior to any yet erected for all serious purposes, and not inferior to any in elegance—I can by no means express.

It was another pleasure to be assured that you were ready to equip the new Laboratory with a number of costly instruments and with such a collection of chemical preparations as would enable it to vie in all respects with other similar institutions in this country.

And now your crowning act of munificence places me in the position to devote nearly my whole energies to the noble science with which in boyhood I resolved to link my fortunes.

Be assured Dear Sir that my gratitude though rather of the silent order, verbally, will constantly seek to express itself in faithful labors for the success of the Institution which I hope may shortly bear the name of its honored Patron.

With the highest Regard

Yours Truly

Samuel W. Johnson

This is a corrected draft by Professor Johnson of a letter of thanks to Joseph E. Sheffield. Mr. Sheffield had been so impressed with the cramped quarters in the old president's house, where Professor Johnson and his associates had been working, that he purchased, in 1859, the former Medical Building at the head of College Street, now known as old Sheffield Hall. He added the two

wings at a cost of about $30,000—that on the west becoming the Chemical Laboratory. In the summer of 1860 the renovated building was formally transferred to the Corporation, and its donor added an endowment of $50,000 for the payment of salaries. At the following Commencement, in July, 1861, Professor Johnson's hope was gratified, and this important Department of the University was given "the name of its honored Patron" by being formally designated as the Sheffield Scientific School. Up to this time it had merely been called the Yale Scientific School, or sometimes the Scientific School of Yale College. It took more than a year of pleading before Mr. Sheffield consented that the School should bear his name. Professor Johnson was associated on a committee with his colleagues, Professors Norton and Dana, in urging the acceptance of this proposal.[10]

[10] See "Joseph Earl Sheffield," in *New Haven Colony Historical Society Papers,* Vol. VII.

Josiah Willard Gibbs

Class of 1858

Born, February 11, 1839; Died, April 28, 1903

"Discoverer and Interpreter of the Laws of Chemical Equilibrium"

The case of Willard Gibbs is an extraordinary one. He is considered by qualified judges at home and abroad to have been one of the greatest scientific geniuses of his century. Yet his name is entirely unknown to ninety-nine educated men out of a hundred, and even a majority of the graduates of the University to which he devoted his life, has never heard of his epoch-making discoveries in the realm of mathematical physics. He was born in a Yale household in New Haven. His father[1] was a distinguished philologist. From him the son inherited those characteristics of indefatigable industry, accuracy, concentration, and true modesty, that are the marks of the scholar. His remoter ancestors included such intellectual leaders as President Willard of Harvard and President Dickinson (q.v.) of Princeton.

He was prepared for college at the Hopkins Grammar School. His undergraduate course was marked by high scholarship, especially in Latin and mathematics. He graduated third in his class, and was consequently a member of Phi Beta Kappa. We find him delivering a Latin Oration at the Junior Exhibition, *De Veri Amore*, and winning several prizes, including a Berkeley Latin Composition premium, a third Clark Prize, and the first Senior Mathematical Prize. He was Clark Scholar as well as Bristed Scholar, the latter a distinction which involves high classical attainments. The extreme reserve so noticeable in after life was already characteristic of Gibbs, and he took little part in the general life of the class and of the Campus. He lived throughout his course at his father's house, 71 High Street.

[1] Josiah Willard Gibbs (q.v.).

For five years after receiving his Bachelor's degree, he pursued postgraduate studies at the University, securing the Doctorate of Philosophy in 1863. The Yale Corporation was the first to establish this degree in America—in 1860—so Gibbs was one of that early band of students who shared the stimulus to advanced research, which work for the degree created. For three years he served as a tutor—first in Latin, later in natural philosophy. Then came an equally long period of European study at the mathematical centers of the time—Paris, Berlin, Heidelberg. Soon after his return to America he was elected Professor of Mathematical Physics in Yale, which position he held until his death, a period of about one-third of a century.

Such was the outwardly uneventful career of this typical scholar who lived his life quietly in a university town, never marrying, and devoting himself with the application of intense thought to the solution of some of the major problems of physics. He never had many students, for few men had had the mathematical training necessary to understand his lectures. The results he achieved show how inconclusive the size of a teacher's courses may be as a final test of service. When he began the work of his professorship at Yale, he had only two men in his classroom. But they both became professors in Yale University, and they look back with deep gratitude to his instruction in the then little-known field of physical optics. As a college instructor of large divisions he would have been a failure. But for those few men in every student generation who had the will and the ability to fathom deep mathematical problems, he was an inspiring guide. It was in thermodynamics—"the science which treats of heat as a form of energy, and of the various conditions which govern the transformation of heat into other forms of energy"—that Gibbs' epoch-making work was accomplished. The period from 1873 to 1878, from his thirty-fourth to his thirty-ninth year, saw the publication in the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts*

and Sciences[2] of three papers, the third of which, *On the Equilibrium of Heterogeneous Substances,* is his most important contribution to physical science. It is said by a competent authority to be "unquestionably among the greatest and most enduring monuments of the wonderful scientific activity of the nineteenth century."[3] It was over a decade before these papers were widely known by scientific men abroad, and then largely through their translation, in 1892, by Professor Ostwald, of Leipsic, under the title of *Thermodynamische Studien.* In the preface Ostwald used the German equivalent of these words:

> The importance of the thermodynamic papers of Willard Gibbs can best be indicated by the fact that in them is contained, explicitly or implicitly, a large part of the discoveries which have since been made by various investigators in the domain of chemical and physical equilibrium and which have led to so notable a development in this field. . . . . The contents of this work are to-day of immediate importance and by no means of merely historical value. For of the almost boundless wealth of results which it contains, or to which it points the way, only a small part has up to the present time been made fruitful. Untouched treasures of the greatest variety and of the greatest importance both to the theoretical and to the experimental investigator still lie within its pages.[4]

The significance of this work is that it first brought under the domain of law the relation of heat to chemical action. The conservation of energy through the transformation of heat into mechanical work was known before Gibbs, but it was his genius that discovered and interpreted the relation of heat to the energy of chemical action. By this work, built up on the three publications already mentioned, he laid the foundations for a new science—physical chemistry. In fact, these papers contain, as far as the statement of general principles is concerned, the outlines of the science as it was to be developed during the next generation. Perhaps the "Phase Rule"—by which "the number of different chemical substances actually interacting in a

[2] This society, commonly known as the Connecticut Academy, was founded in New Haven, in 1799. It has become an important agency for scientific publication, and for maintaining the Library's exchange list.

[3] Professor H. A. Bumstead, quoted in *National Academy of Sciences. Biographical Memoirs.* Vol. VI, p. 378.

[4] Quoted by Bumstead, *Josiah Willard Gibbs,* p. 6.

given complex system can be determined from observation of the degree of spontaneous variation which it exhibits"[5]—is the most important single contribution contained in these early studies by Gibbs. A single quotation from an English scientist may be taken as a good summary of what was accomplished by his paper *On the Equilibrium of Heterogeneous Substances,* a publication which appeared modestly, and remained for the most part hidden treasure for years, but which is now recognized as one of the world's scientific classics:

> Concerning the latter paper little remains to be said at the present day. It is universally recognized as having laid in an imperishable form the foundations of that branch of chemical science which deals with the equilibrium, co-existence and stability of chemical systems, whether homogeneous or heterogeneous. . . . . Not only is a large portion of modern physical chemistry built upon the foundation here laid by Gibbs, but also many important branches of *applied* physical chemistry, such as the study of alloys, owe their very existence as sciences to the work of Gibbs.[6]

An even more impressive statement is that of a former student, Professor Bumstead (Ph.D. 1897), who has said:

> Professor Gibbs worked alone in a field in which he had no rivals and no helpers; he published practically all that he had to say upon the subject in a single paper of great length; and there were scarcely any experiments to which he could look for confirmation or suggestion as to his theoretical conclusions. Yet his very numerous results were correct, were of the highest importance, and were extremely general in their application. Many things which had been mysteries, and concerning which our ignorance had been confessed by such vague terms as "affinity" or "catalytic action," were in this paper shown to be simple and direct consequences of the two laws of thermodynamics. Relations between facts and laws of chemical action were stated *a priori* which have since been verified by laborious and exact experiments; and in fact there is little exaggeration, if any, in the statement that this paper contains, so far as general principles are concerned, practically the whole of the science which is now called physical chemistry and which had scarcely been begun when it was written. Considered merely as an intellectual *tour de force,* there are very few chapters in the history of science which can be compared with this; as an example of scientific prediction it is probably without a rival in the number and complexity of the relations discovered, by *a priori* reasoning, in a science essentially experimental.[7]

[5] *Encyclopædia Britannica,* Vol. IX, p. 394.
[6] Professor Donnan, of the University of Liverpool, quoted by Bumstead, *Josiah Willard Gibbs,* p. 10.
[7] Bumstead, *Josiah Willard Gibbs,* p. 4.

Probably not over one person out of every fifty thousand in the country has read this paper, but its influence on scientific research has not been exceeded by that of any single American publication. It can even be compared in its ultimate effect on civilization with important volumes in other fields discussed in these pages, which have been read or consulted by the hundred thousand, such as Webster's *Spelling Book* and *Dictionary,* and Kent's *Commentaries on Law.* Its influence on the leaders of the science of physics in the nineteenth century is comparable to that of Edwards' *Freedom of the Will* on philosophical and theological thought in the eighteenth, and its permanent effect may be greater. Anyone who may doubt the scientific world's high estimate of Gibbs' creative work in this field would do well to glance over the long article on "Energetics" in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

There are other branches in which he achieved important results, such as vector analysis, light waves, statical mechanics, and the electro-magnetic theory of light, but we have concentrated attention on his discoveries in thermodynamics, as these represented his field of most far-reaching achievement, where his efforts as a path breaker were almost single-handed. Here, although his work was that of a mathematician dealing with the problems of physics and of chemistry, his investigations have profoundly affected the science of mineralogy, and have had an influence on such practical matters as the constitution of Portland cement, and the making of structural steel.

Few men have ever lived whose energy was more absorbed in problems that required close reasoning. His interests and recreations were mainly mathematical, in the broad sense of the word, but he was not a narrow recluse. He took an interest in the problems brought before the College Faculty, was the successful treasurer for many years of the Hopkins Grammar School, was always approachable to colleagues or students, was not without a sense of humor, and, in his early days, took out a patent for a practical brake for railway

Josiah Willard Gibbs

Class of 1858

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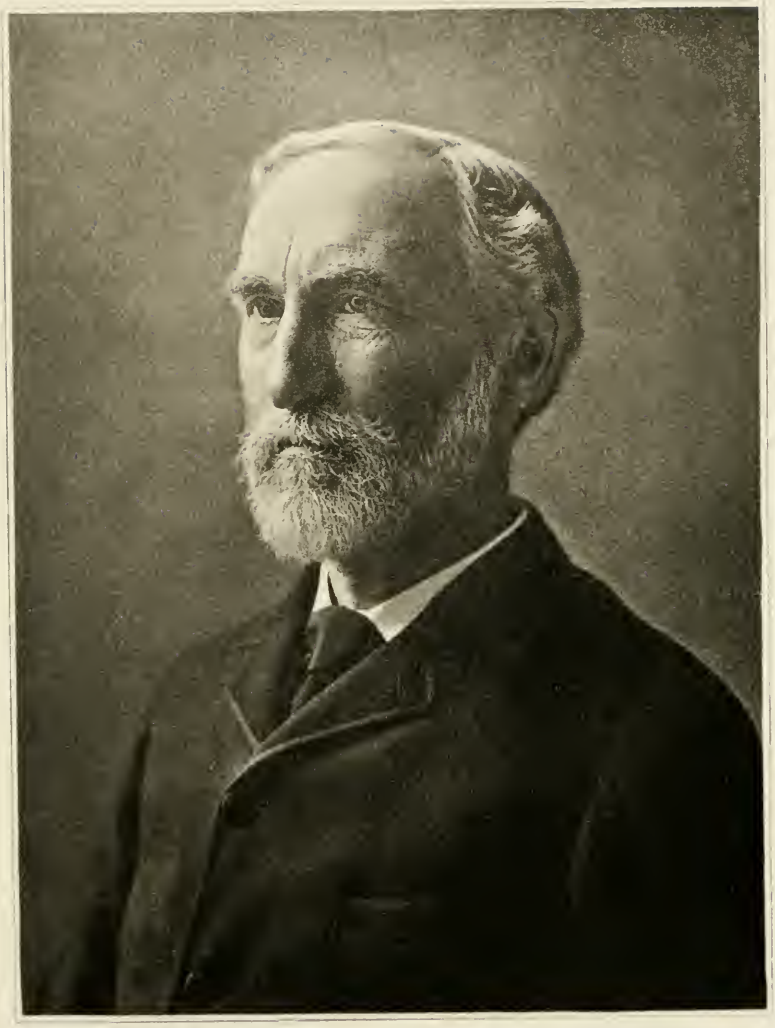

cars. In all his dealings the calm, judicious quality of his mind was evident, as well as the inborn kindness of his heart.

Such was the career and character of America's "leading scientist"[8] at the close of the nineteenth century. There is a bas-relief in his honor in the new Sloane University Physics Laboratory, and a movement has been started to establish a Gibbs Memorial Fellowship. The honors he received are too numerous to mention in full. Among them were membership in the most distinguished learned societies of the world, honorary degrees from Erlangen, Williams, Princeton, and Christiania, and the award of the Copley Medal from the Royal Society of London.

The facts for this biography have been mainly taken from two sources: the *Biographical Memoir* prepared, in 1909, by Professor Hastings (Ph.B. 1870), for the National Academy of Sciences, and a pamphlet privately printed, in 1910, entitled *Josiah Willard Gibbs—Professor of Mathematical Physics in Yale University 1871-1903.* This contains an introduction by Professor Henry A. Bumstead (Ph.D. 1897), who, with Dr. Ralph Gibbs VanName (B.A. 1899), has edited *The Scientific Papers of J. Willard Gibbs.*

July 12 1901

Dear Mr. Stokes

I do not remember Rayleigh's or Kelvin's address. Will you send them to me here. If you have not them at hand, you can easily find them in the Report B. A. A. S.

Yours faithfully,

J. W. Gibbs.

This characteristically brief letter brings together the names of three of the most eminent scientists living at the beginning of the twentieth century—Lord Rayleigh, Lord Kelvin, and Gibbs. When Kelvin, in 1902, received an honorary degree from Yale at a special convocation, he said, in the presence of the author, that the time would come when Gibbs would be considered the greatest man of science of his generation.

[8] In a letter of Professor Wolcott Gibbs of Harvard, President of the National Academy of Sciences, to Willard Gibbs, in 1902, he said: "Your position in our country is that of our leading scientist. . . . ." Quoted in Bumstead, *Josiah Willard Gibbs,* p. 13.

Othniel Charles Marsh

Class of 1860

Born, October 29, 1831; Died, March 18, 1899

Paleontologist

Professor Marsh, the real creator of the Peabody Museum at Yale, did more than any of his contemporaries to make known the prehistoric animal life on our continent.[1] He was born in Lockport, New York. His parents had only limited means, but his uncle, the well-known philanthropist, Mr. George Peabody, of London, offered to help him obtain a liberal education. He entered Yale College from Phillips Academy, Andover, which has been the preparatory school of more of the men whose biographies are given in this book than any other institution. He was Valedictorian at school, and a high stand man at college, winning Phi Beta Kappa and a Berkeley Scholarship. But he was not distinguished in the literary competitions then so prominent a feature at Yale, and in spite of his High Oration stand, he did not speak either at the Junior Exhibition or at Commencement. His interest in natural science, especially mineralogy, was strongly marked during his college course. It even went back to his boyhood, and was developed from his fondness for the life of forest and stream. Like some other men of science, he was a sportsman before he was a naturalist, but during his student days he took up science in earnest. On one of his summer vacations spent geologizing in Nova Scotia, he discovered the two well-known vertebræ of Eosaurus Acadianus, said, by a competent authority, to have been "the first remains of reptiles found in the Palæozoic rocks of America."[2] Surely this expedition proved to be both a pleasanter and more useful way of spending the three summer months than that followed by most undergraduates.

[1] Cf. article by George Bird Grinnell, Ph.D. (B.A. 1870), in *Popular Science Monthly* for 1878, p. 613.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 613.

He was not a prominent man in the life of the undergraduate world. He lived off the Campus, and made few intimate friendships, due largely to the fact that he entered when twenty-five years of age, thus making him much older than most members of his class. He was respected by all, and was known to be a man of high purpose, although his classmates had no expectation that he would distinguish himself in after life. As one of them writes:

> In those days he seemed as common-place and unprophetic of future eminence as did the great majority of our class. In fact it was one of the surprises of after college life that he rose to distinction in the scientific world. He was generally, perhaps universally liked, well liked but not one of those about whom his fellows rallied and wearing a halo of popularity on which legends might be inscribed.[3]

His college course was followed by two years of postgraduate study in science—especially chemistry and mineralogy—at Yale, and three years in Germany, where his winters were spent in hard work with the greatest authorities in geology and zoölogy at the universities of Berlin, Heidelberg, and Breslau. His summers were given to Alpine exploration and to other field work. His European experiences had the same stimulating effect that they always have on the more ambitious type of American student. He returned to New Haven in 1866, to take up with enthusiasm the work of the newly established chair of Paleontology. A few months later in the same year, Mr. Peabody presented to a board of trustees the sum of $150,000 "to found and maintain a Museum of Natural History, especially in the departments of Zoölogy, Geology, and Mineralogy, in connection with Yale College"—the terms of the gift being suggested by Professor Marsh, who superintended the erection of the present building. This was completed in 1876, and was intended to be merely the north wing of a large edifice extending to Library Street.

In 1870 he organized the first Yale scientific expedition, and thereby began the most productive period of his life. The party was absent in the Far West only five months, but returned with "over

[3] Letter from the Class Secretary, Orlando Leach, August 25, 1913.

one hundred species of extinct vertebrates, new to science,"[4] mostly found in hitherto unknown Tertiary lake-basins. The expeditions personally led by Marsh, or undertaken by parties from the University under his direction, followed each other in quick succession. These often extended to remote districts never before visited by white men, where much danger was experienced from privation, hardship, and hostile Indians. In the first twenty years of exploration he crossed the Rocky Mountains over twenty times, and brought to light over one thousand new specimens of extinct vertebrates. These trips cost him over one hundred thousand dollars, but they resulted in making the Peabody Museum a great scientific storehouse, which still contains many hidden treasures. The mounted Brontosaurus, Stegosaurus, Pteranodon, and other rare gigantic animals of prehistoric ages, interest every New Haven schoolboy, and speak eloquently of the early life of North America. The United States Geological Survey, of which he was Paleontologist from 1882 until his death, published under his editorship richly illustrated volumes regarding these discoveries. Others have been described in the *American Journal of Science,* and in the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy.* It will probably surprise most Yale men to know that these specimens gathered by Professor Marsh represent one of the most important scientific collections in the world. Professor Huxley, who spent several days in New Haven in 1876, as Marsh's guest, referred to his collection of fossils in the Peabody Museum, as "worth all the journey across" the ocean, and as "the most wonderful thing I ever saw."[5] He stated that "there is no collection of fossil vertebrates in existence which can be compared with it."[6] The making of this collection was probably Professor Marsh's greatest single contribution to science. The eminent English scientist also acknowledged his indebtedness to Marsh for the support which his discoveries gave to evolution, especially by showing the genealogy

[4] Grinnell, in *Popular Science Monthly* for 1878, p. 613.
[5] *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley,* Vol. I, p. 496.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 497.

of the horse from "eohippus, orohippus" and the rest. "Your great work," he wrote in 1876, "is the settlement of the pedigree of the horse."[7] The collection from which this first actual demonstrable proof of the theory of evolution was made, may still be seen in the Peabody Museum, together with the important additions made to it by Professor Lull, as a result of the Yale expedition to Texas in 1912. Still more striking than Huxley's words is the testimony of Charles Darwin, who wrote: "Your work on these old birds, and on many fossil animals of North America, has afforded the best support to the theory of evolution that has appeared within the last twenty years."[8]

These quotations indicate the reasons for Marsh's main claim to fame—his genius for field work in paleontology. He had the scientific knowledge, the indomitable energy, the organizing ability, and the intuition, which made him the most successful discoverer and collector of the remains of prehistoric animal life on the North American continent. He brought together at Yale University tons and tons of valuable material, part of which he was able to work up himself, but much of which still remains an unexplored field for the investigators of future generations.

Professor Marsh once came to the attention of the public outside of the field of science, in a way which reflected his independence of character and his citizenship. On one of his Western expeditions—that of 1874 to the Bad Lands of Dakota—he was driven back by the Sioux Indians, who thought that he was after gold. He finally secured permission to continue on his trip by agreeing with Red Cloud to take the many complaints of his tribe to the "Great Father" at Washington. This he did, exposing at the same time the frauds which he had seen practiced on the Indians by government agents. A bitter fight ensued between Marsh and the Department of the Interior. As a result Marsh won and many abuses were abolished. Red Cloud

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 497. For an interesting account of the Yale collection of fossil horses, with illustrations, see *Yale Alumni Weekly*, Collections Supplement, No. 1, 1913.

[8] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. IV, p. 218.

showed his deep appreciation. He presented his friend with a fine pipe and tobacco pouch, and stated that "the Bone-hunting chief was the only white man he had seen who kept his promises."[9]

Professor Marsh received many high scientific honors. He was President of the National Academy of Sciences from 1883 to 1895, and was earlier President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Heidelberg gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and Harvard that of Doctor of Laws. He also received the Bigsby Medal of the Geological Society of London, and the Cuvier Prize of the Institut de France. European scientists appreciated the full significance of his paleontological work. A member of the Institute, in an announcement of his death, wrote: "Le nom de M. Marsh restera honoré par tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire des êtres des temps passés."[10]

No Yale alumnus has shown more devotion to the University. He handed over all of his scientific collections[11] to its ownership in 1898, and by his will, being a bachelor, left to it the bulk of his large estate. This included his house and beautiful grounds on Prospect Street, which now form the home of the Yale Forest School and of the Botanical Garden. His portrait hangs in one of the exhibition rooms on the second floor of the Museum, facing some of the grim monsters of past ages which he brought to light again.

Professor Marsh consecrated his powers and his life to science in his own department with even more remarkable devotion and persistency, if possible, and with a yet more unbounded enthusiasm, than were manifested in other lines of study and investigation by Professor Loomis and Professor Whitney. . . . . They pursued the one object which they had in view with all the energy of their nature, subordinating everything else to its attainment, and finding their reward only as they advanced farther and yet farther towards it. Our University has had a happy fortune indeed, in that it has numbered so many men of this high order in the circle of its scholars and teachers.[12]

[9] Grinnell, in *Popular Science Monthly* for 1878, p. 615. For details see *A statement of affairs at the Red Cloud Agency, made to the President of the United States,* Yale College, July, 1875.

[10] Gaudry, in *La Nature,* April 8, 1899.

[11] His successor at Yale both as Curator and Professor was an eminent Paleontologist, the late Charles Emerson Beecher (Ph.D. 1889).

[12] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men,* p. 409.

(Copy)

New Haven, June 4th 1873.

Rev. Noah Porter, LL.D.
President of Yale College

To meet the wants of the Museum before the completion of the new Building, I hereby offer to expend before July 1st 1875, the sum of five thousand dollars for the care and increase of the Collections in Natural Science & Archaeology and to give my own services until that time without compensation, provided the college will give an equal amount ($5,000.) to be expended under my direction for the same purpose.

O. C. Marsh

This is a copy in Marsh's handwriting of an official letter to President Porter. The Corporation considered the proposal, but does not seem to have taken any formal action on it. A year previous it had accepted a similar offer from Professor Marsh of $3,000. His generous attitude towards the University shown in this letter is also evidenced by many gifts, by his munificent bequest, and by the fact that he gave his services to Yale without compensation through all the years of his professorship.

Clarence King

Class of 1862 (Sheffield)

Born, January 6, 1842; Died, December 24, 1901

Founder of the United States Geological Survey

Clarence King was one of the most charming personalities in the history of American science. He showed that it was possible to be both a scientist and a man of broad literary culture —a combination rarely found in these days. It is, however, because of his achievement in laying worthily the foundations of the United States Geological Survey, in many ways the most important of the scientific activities of the government, that his biography is included in this volume.

He was born in Newport, Rhode Island, the son and the grandson of distinguished merchants. "King & Olyphant" was for two generations a firm name honored alike in America and in China, where most of its shipping business was centered. He prepared for the academic course at Yale, but his strong interest in natural science finally led him into that Department of the University now known as the Sheffield School. The Yale Scientific School during its early years, when it was mainly a place for research work, attracted a remarkable group of men. Professor Dana and Professor Brush, and their associates, had only a relatively small number of students at this time, but among them were Clarence King, Othniel Marsh (q.v.), Arnold Hague, and Samuel Parsons. During his course King was a good student, had a taste of field work in his vacations, derived an enthusiasm for science from his instructors, and was prominent in the social and athletic life of the college community, being stroke oar of one of the crews, and captain of a baseball team. A fellow geologist has given us this vivid picture of King's undergraduate days:

> I well remember him as he was then, an active, sprightly youth, quick to observe and apprehend, full of joyous animation and lively energy, which always made him

a leader of the front rank, whether in the daily exercises of the classroom and laboratory or in an impromptu raid by night on Hillhouse Avenue front fences, with the mischievous purpose of lifting off and swapping around in neighborly exchange the door-yard gates of lawns and gardens. "Off fences must come," he sometimes said of the gates, "but woe unto him by whom they come—if found out."[1]

His interest both in the scientific secrets of nature, and in the beauty of the natural world, was greatly stimulated by reading when in college the works of Tyndall and of Ruskin on the Alps, and accounts by Theodore Winthrop (q.v.) and others of the Far West. A more direct impulse to engage in field work was given by hearing the reading of a letter to Professor Brush, giving an account of the ascent of Mount Shasta—then believed to be the highest mountain in the country.[2]

It is interesting in these days, when a Sheffield School class consists of over three hundred men at graduation, to recall that King was one of only six students who received the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy in 1862. This contrast is a good commentary on the growth of interest in scientific education during the past half century, a growth which Yale has done much to promote. Clarence King always retained his interest in his Alma Mater, and once returned for postgraduate studies in "field and practical astronomy," gaining knowledge that proved of value to him in his Western expeditions. He kept in close touch throughout life with his old teachers, Professors Brush, Brewer, and Dana, and with other New Haven friends, and, in 1877, delivered before the Sheffield Scientific School an address on "Catastrophism and the Evolution of Environment."

Soon after graduation he crossed the continent from the Missouri River to the coast on horseback, with another distinguished engineer, James T. Gardiner (Ph.B. 1868), and remained for three years engaged on the state survey under Josiah Dwight Whitney (q.v.). Most of this time was spent in the high Sierras. Here he made paleontological discoveries which supplied the evidence for deter-

1 *Clarence King Memoirs*, p. 378, quoting James D. Hague.
2 See *National Academy of Sciences. Biographical Memoirs.* Vol. VI, p. 31.

mining the age of gold-bearing rocks. His experiences gave him much of the material for his *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada,* which appeared in 1871, written in a delightful style, and full of interesting and brilliant descriptions of nature and of man. This book, and various magazine articles, such as his *Helmet of Mambrino,* show that he could have made his mark in literature had it been his chosen profession. It was John Hay who said of him that "If he had given himself to literature, he would have been a great writer. . . . . his mastery of the word, his power of phrase, was almost unlimited,"[3] and similarly William Dean Howells spoke of him as "an imaginative talent of the first potentiality."[4]

On his return East he originated a plan for a survey of a strip of territory extending one hundred miles on each side of the fortieth parallel. The idea was to map thoroughly, indicating the natural resources of that section of the Western Cordilleras, which was about to be opened up by the transcontinental railroads. It was a young Yale man of twenty-four who conceived this idea, and, what was even more remarkable, it was the same young man who persuaded the War Department and Congress of the wisdom of backing up his plan financially. In March, 1867, King was given charge of the expedition, subject only to the administrative control of General Humphreys, Chief Engineer of the Army, who appreciated King's genius and judgment, and gave him a free rein. The work was to be carried on in the most scientific manner, but its ultimate purpose was as broad as civilization itself. "The mountains of our great vacant interior are not barren, but full of wealth; the deserts are not all desert; the vast plains will produce something better than buffalo, namely, beef; there is water for irrigation, and land fit to receive it. All that is needed is to explore and declare the nature of the national domain."[5] King showed that he not only had the vision to see this, but the power to convince others of the truth of his ideas. He selected

[3] *Clarence King Memoirs,* p. 126.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 154.
[5] See Rossiter Raymond, *Biographical Notice of Clarence King,* pp. 13, 14.

his own staff, and prosecuted the work with vigor. The field surveys were finished in 1872, and the last of the nine volumes—including two atlases—was published six years later. The entire work—one of the greatest and most difficult in the history of topographical exploration—was completed, in standard form, in slightly over a decade. The first volume, *Systematic Geology,* was written by King himself. The entire report, issued modestly as *Professional Papers of the Engineers Department, U. S. Army,* was of inestimable value to railroad builders, mining engineers, and others who were laying the foundations of Western development. Some idea of the importance of this work in the history of science may be derived from the following summary:

> Aside from the direct contributions to science embodied in the seven quarto volumes that contained the published results of this great survey, King exerted a most important influence upon geological work in this country by the high standards he set for it and his practical demonstration of the possibility of living up to them. Thus a topographic survey which should afford an accurate delineation of the relief of a country had not hitherto been considered a necessary base for geological mapping either in State or government surveys. A system of rapid surveying by triangulation and the use of contours to express relief was first employed by him in making maps of large areas, and inaugurated an improvement in our systems of cartography that has made the maps issued by our government superior to any in the world. He demonstrated the importance of the general use of photography as an adjunct to geology, which previously had not been considered practicable because of the labor and expense involved in transporting the necessary apparatus for the developing of wet plates in the field. Of even greater moment was the practical introduction of the methods of microscopical petrography, supplemented by chemical analysis, in the examination of rocks—an innovation which marked the opening of a new era in geological study in the United States.[6]

Immediately after he had finished the publication of these reports, an opportunity came to him to render even more important national service. He suggested the consolidation of the various surveys then being conducted by different departments of the government. There was great danger of conflict of interest, and of lack of unity of plan. As one intimate with the situation has said, "It was mainly through King's influence among the leading scientific

[6] *National Academy of Sciences. Biographical Memoirs.* Vol. VI, p. 42.

men of the country and his tactful management of affairs in Congress that this crisis was averted."[7] Congress adopted March 3, 1879, on the recommendation of the National Academy of Sciences, a plan outlined by King, establishing the United States Geological Survey as a bureau of the Department of the Interior. He was appointed the first Director, and accepted the position only with the understanding that he could withdraw after the work had been thoroughly organized and efficiently started. This took him two years. "Brief as was the duration of his administration, his influence, being exercised at the critical period of the Survey's existence, left a lasting impress upon it. He outlined the broad general principles upon which its work should be conducted, and its subsequent success has been in a great measure dependent upon the faithfulness with which these principles have been followed by his successors."[8] The Geological Survey has been generally considered the most valuable scientific activity of the federal government. It owes much to the man who first conceived it, organized it, and secured for it the generous support of Congress. But perhaps his greatest service was in attracting into government employ the men who were to complete the work he had begun in the "40th Parallel" and the United States Geological Surveys. By his high scientific standards, his good judgment of men, and his charming personality he drew about him a remarkable group of co-workers who shared his enthusiasm and his ideals.

During his later years he devoted his time mainly to special geological investigations and to literary pursuits. He was elected a member of the National Academy of Sciences, and received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Brown University. Clarence King represented the highest type of educated citizenship—that of a man of thorough training, broad culture, incorruptible integrity, and large imagination, who gave the best years of his life

[7] Samuel F. Emmons, quoted by Raymond, *Biographical Notice of Clarence King,* p. 19.
[8] Raymond, *Biographical Notice of Clarence King,* p. 20.

to the public service.[9] He had the brains and the will both to plan and to execute large things. His monuments are the *Reports* of the Fortieth Parallel Survey, and the work of the United States Geological Survey, which has rendered all-important service in its own field, and has set the standard for the other scientific departments at Washington.

He was a man of extraordinary capacity for friendship, who appeared at his best at the Century Club, where the excellence of the company drew out all that was most attractive and most brilliant in him. Here is the tribute of the Club's necrologist:

> He was himself a blend of varied qualities and gifts that were not always ready to keep the peace one with another, but the collective manifestation of which was to his fellows a constant joy. The talk he made or evoked may be equaled by those who are to come after; it can never be matched. Its range was literally incalculable. It was impossible to foresee at what point his tangential fancy would change its course. From the true rhythm of Creole gumbo to the verse of Theocritus, from the origin of the latest *mot* to the age of the globe, from the soar or slump of the day's market to the method of Lippo Lippi, from the lightest play on words to the subtlest philosophy, he passed with buoyant step and head erect, sometimes with audacity that invited disaster, often with profound penetration and with the informing flash of genius. It is but a suggestion of his rare equipment to say that in his talk, as in his work, his imagination was his dominant, at moments his dominating quality. Intense, restless, wide-seeing, nourished by much reading, trained in the exercise of an exact and exacting profession, stimulated by commerce with many lands and races, it played incessantly on the topic of the moment and on the remotest and most complex problems of the earth and the dwellers thereon. And within a nature brilliant and efficient beyond all common limits glowed the modest and steady light of a kindness the most unfailing and delicate. The good one hand did he let not the other know; both were always busy, laying in many lives the foundations of tender and lasting remembrance.[10]

An excellent picture of his work and personality may be derived from *Clarence King Memoirs,* published for the King Memorial Committee of the Century Association. The list of contributors is of itself significant, including John Hay, John LaFarge, William Dean Howells, Edmund Clarence Stedman, James D. Hague, and

[9] A good incidental example was his successful exposure of the fraudulent diamond fields, in 1872.

[10] Quoted in *National Academy of Sciences. Biographical Memoirs.* Vol. VI, p. 53.

others prominent in the world of art, letters, and science—three fields in which King was almost equally at home. The *Biographical Memoirs* of the National Academy of Sciences, and of the American Institute of Mining Engineers are also valuable.

New York Nov 2d
[1869 ?]

Dear Professor Brush

Providence and my tailor permitting I shall spend a day in New Haven within a week. I shall be able to assure you of the entire honest success of my 40th Parallel operations. A pretty bitter campaign lies before me in Washington on which I will take moral bets freely. Gardner and his *specimen* are expected here Wednesday. She is as charming a little recent vertebrate as was ever collected. Please remind my friends who I am that they may not show any awkward surprise when I turn up.

Sincerely Yours

Clarence King.

The penciled date at the top—1869—was the addition of George Jarvis Brush (Ph.B. 1852), to whom the letter was addressed. He had been King's teacher, and a feeling of warm respect and friendship had grown up between them. When Professor Brush handed this letter to the editor of this book he remarked emphatically, "King was the greatest graduate of the Sheffield Scientific School." The Fortieth Parallel Survey was begun in 1867. His distinguished instructor always waxed eloquent when he referred to its significance in the history of American science and of Western development. The letter shows in a characteristic way its author's light touch.

III. SUPPLEMENTARY NAMES

Mason Fitch Cogswell (Class of 1780), Born, 1761; Died, 1830.

He was Valedictorian of his class, although its youngest member. After studying medicine in New York, he settled in Hartford, where he became an eminent surgeon, and held for ten years the presidency of the Connecticut Medical Society. He introduced into America the operation for removing the cataract from the eye, and was the first to tie the carotid artery. The fact that his daughter became deaf and dumb was responsible for the leading part which he played in establishing in Hartford the first asylum for mutes in the country. He was a cultured gentleman of the old school, intimate with the "Hartford Wits," and wore to the last knee breeches and silk stockings.

He writes to Colonel Samuel Huntington under date of January 11, 1796, sympathizing with him in the death of his uncle, the eminent President of the Continental Congress, who had adopted both Cogswell and his nephew Samuel, and had sent them to Yale College. "I beg leave to mingle with yours my tenderest sympathies—You have only to imitate his virtues to be beloved, honored & respected."

Alexander Hodgson Stevens (Class of 1807), Born, 1789; Died, 1869.

Dr. Stevens always felt under special obligations to President Dwight and to Professor Silliman for their influence upon him as an undergraduate. He was a high scholar, and, after medical studies in New York and Philadelphia, went to Europe to secure a thorough surgical training. He was Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery in the University of the State of New York, President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, and of the American Medical Association. He is specially remembered for being one of the first to introduce into America clinical hospital instruction of the European type. He was one of the most eminent of American surgeons of his generation. His reputation was shown by his being chosen to respond to the toast, "The Alumni of the Medical Profession," at the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of the College.

A letter is added, addressed, in 1847, to Professor Samuel Henry Dickson, a fellow Yalensian (B.A. 1814), who did yeoman's service in improving medical

education in Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York. In this work Dr. Stevens was a national leader. He writes urging his friend to "attend the convention in Philadelphia on the subject of Medical Education. It is very important that high minded men should be there to give if possible a proper direction to its proceedings. There will be I doubt not much narrowness of views among some parties & if such views predominate we must give up for a long time all hope of elevating the profession."

Alexander Metcalf Fisher (Class of 1813), Born, 1794; Died, 1822.

Few men ever graduated from Yale of the intellectual promise of Alexander Metcalf Fisher. The testimony of his instructors and fellow students on this point is overwhelming and convincing. No one was surprised when he was advanced to the professorship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy when only twenty-five. Professor Silliman's estimate may be taken as representative: "I can truly say that Mr. Fisher was the most extraordinary man of his years whom I have ever known. . . . . Acquisitions equal to his at the age of twenty-eight I have never seen, nor a more vigorous or acute intellect at any age."[1] Some of his most brilliant mathematical and astronomical papers were published in Silliman's Journal. He lost his life at the early age of twenty-eight through the shipwreck of the "Albion" off the Irish Coast.

The autograph consists of a sheet of reflections on the end of the world and on the last judgment.

Denison Olmsted (Class of 1813), Born, 1791; Died, 1859.

Olmsted has left an entertaining account of his early college experiences. He was unceremoniously taken to the room of a Senior and given the customary "lecture" on manners, study, tobacco smoking, etc. The chairman of the meeting stated that its purpose was "to give the young man the advise which he seemed so much to need." Bagg gives the full account.[2]

In 1817 he was called to the professorship of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology in the University of North Carolina, where he proposed and carried out the first state geological survey undertaken in America. In 1825 he entered upon his duties as Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Yale, and continued at the University for the remainder of his life. He wrote many text books—of which two hundred thousand were sold. He was an

[1] Professor Newton in Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. I, p. 230. See also *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 344.
[2] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale,* pp. 284-286.

authority on shooting stars, and the teacher of a brilliant group of men who made Yale famous in astronomy all through the middle of the last century. He and Professor Loomis were the first Americans to observe Halley's comet, in 1835. This was seen with the Clark telescope from the tower of old Athenæum, just south of Connecticut Hall, weeks before word was received of its being observed in Europe.

The autograph collection contains a letter from Professor Olmsted written to his publisher in 1841.

JARED POTTER KIRTLAND (Class of 1815), Born, 1793; Died, 1877.

Dr. Kirtland was graduated from the Yale Medical School, being one of its first matriculants. He derived special benefit from the instruction of Professor Silliman. "'To him I feel that a heavy debt of gratitude is due from me. In the autumn of 1813, I commenced attending his chemical and mineralogical lectures in New Haven, and they awakened a taste for scientific investigations which have afforded the larger share of my enjoyments and pleasure through life."[3] Although a practicing physician of broad reputation, and in turn Professor of Medicine in Cincinnati and Cleveland, Dr. Kirtland's greatest influence was in the field of the natural sciences. His investigations, especially "his discovery of the sexual difference in the naiades in which he showed that the male and female could be distinguished by the forms of the shells as well as by their internal anatomy,"[4] earned him an early election as a National Academician. His influence in improving agricultural and horticultural conditions was broadly felt throughout the Northwestern states. Kirtland Hall in the Sheffield Scientific School was named after him.

A manuscript page from his medical lectures and a signature are shown in the autograph collection.

WILLIAM STARLING SULLIVANT (Class of 1823), Born, 1803; Died, 1873.

Sullivant as an undergraduate was a class leader, being selected as the College Bully. Bullyism was then at its height, having arisen early in the century in the fights between students and the rougher element in the city. The Bully, whose badge of office was the "bully club," was originally the college champion in Town and Gown troubles, but he later became also the moderator

[3] Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman,* Vol. II, p. 282.
[4] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. III, p. 558.

at student meetings. He was generally a man who combined physical strength with power of leadership among men. It is worth noting that of the thirty-seven[5] known college bullies, Sullivant is the only one to gain a place in this volume, although W. M. Evarts (q.v.) was a "minor bully." He spent the early years after graduation as a surveyor and practical engineer. He made his scientific reputation in a very narrow field—the study of mosses—bryology. Here he was beyond question the highest American authority, and held an international reputation among botanists.[6] His learned books have such exciting titles as *Musci Alleghanienses* and *Icones Muscorum.* He was elected to the National Academy of Sciences. Professor Asa Gray of Harvard referring to his death said: "In him we lose the most accomplished bryologist which this country has produced. . . . ."[7]

The engraving accompanying his autograph signature reflects his strong intellectual and moral qualities.

EDWARD HITCHCOCK (Class of 1825-1826), Born, 1793; Died, 1864.

President Hitchcock was not a college graduate, but like several other eminent men of science of his generation, he secured his only university training at Yale. He refers in his autobiography to "Prof. Silliman, by whose kindness and instruction my sojourn there was made most profitable,"[8] and in a letter written in his old age to this same Yale teacher, he says: "Certain it is that your instruction and encouragement and example have had more influence upon me to make me what I have been, than those of any other man."[9] His studies also included some work in the theological school under Professor Taylor. Professor Silliman became interested in him while he was a teacher in Deerfield, Massachusetts, and, because of his scientific work, secured for him the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Yale. Silliman states: "I then invited Mr. Hitchcock to visit me in New Haven. The invitation was accepted, and for a series of years he was often here, and attended all the courses of lectures with more or less regularity. . . . . His starting point was with us, and we may regard him as a pupil of our scientific departments."[10]

After a few years' service as pastor of a Congregational church, he was chosen Professor of Chemistry and Natural History at Amherst College, of

[5] Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. II, p. 477.

[6] Other Yale graduates who have made important contributions to botany are Manasseh Cutler (q.v.); Stephen Elliott (B.A. 1791); Eli Ives (B.A. 1799); Samuel Kirtland (q.v.); Sereno Watson (B.A. 1847); and Daniel Cady Eaton (B.A. 1857).

[7] *National Academy of Sciences. Biographical Memoirs.* Vol. I, p. 279.

[8] Hitchcock, *Reminiscences of Amherst College,* p. 288.

[9] Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman,* Vol. II, p. 306.

[10] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, pp. 302-303.

which he became President in 1845. Dr. Hitchcock's life was one of ceaseless activity. He taught, preached, conducted the Massachusetts geological survey, as well as surveys in other states, administered the affairs of his college with noteworthy success, served on the state board of agriculture, and wrote books on scientific, religious, historical, and sociological subjects. His eminence as a geologist is shown by his being one of the original members of the National Academy, and by his election as first President of the American Association of Geologists and Naturalists.

The letter, written from Amherst in December, 1836, is of much autobiographic value for its scientific references. Especially interesting is this statement regarding that branch of paleontology in which President Hitchcock was most famous:

I have made great discoveries this fall among the bird tracks. In memoir last year I described only seven species, but in an article which I sent off today for the American Journal of Science I have described eleven new species, & some of them very peculiar—what think you of a bird track 14 inches long with a heel larger than the foot of a horse & with a spur upon it three inches long! Yet such a specimen is before me.

In this connection a statement of his biographer is of interest:

No controversies will ever avail to divorce the name of Edward Hitchcock from that of Ornithichnology. His name has become itself an imprint—not a bird-track, but a bard-track—upon the rock. Sedgwick and the Cambrians, Murchison and the Silurians, Hugh Miller and the Devonians, Rogers and the Appalachians, Lyell and the Tertiaries, are not more household terms in the history of our science, than is "Hitchcock and the New Red Sandstone" of the Connecticut River Valley, with its beautiful trap ranges, Mount Tom, Mount Holyoke, and the rest of them.[11]

Ebenezer Porter Mason (Class of 1839), Born, 1819; Died, 1840.

Mason ranks with Alexander M. Fisher (q.v.) as a youthful genius. He died when twenty-one, the year after graduation, yet he created an astonishing impression among his contemporaries, who likened his powers to those of the greatest names in science. He secured the special admiration of Sir John Herschel for his paper, *Observations on Nebulæ*. His *Life and Writings*, by Professor Olmsted, gives an interesting picture of his precocity. The book, to quote the title, is "interspersed with hints to Parents and Instructors on the training and education of a Child of Genius." Mason's reputation attracted Joseph Stillman Hubbard (B.A. 1843) and other well-known astronomers to Yale.

[11] *National Academy of Sciences. Biographical Memoirs.* Vol. I, p. 121.

He combined extraordinary scientific powers of mind with a poetic temperament, his published literary work as an undergraduate being largely poetry. The lines "To a Rosebud," and "The Ties that bind us here are breaking," which appear without name in the *Yale Literary Magazine*, were from his pen.

A page of astronomical calculations in Mason's handwriting takes the place of the usual autograph letter in the collection.

JOHN PITKIN NORTON (Class of 1840-1843), Born, 1822; Died, 1852.

Professor Norton pursued his scientific studies for three years at Yale under the Sillimans, father and son. He resolved to be a teacher of agricultural chemistry, and spent three years preparing himself abroad, at Edinburgh and Utrecht. During this period he won a prize of fifty guineas from the Highland Agricultural Society for an essay on the Oat Plant. In 1846 Yale established the first university professorship of Agricultural Chemistry in America, and Norton was chosen to fill it. The "Yale Analytical Laboratory," from which the Scientific School was developed, was started in the old president's house on College Street. The first reference to it in the Yale Catalogue is in 1847: "Professors Silliman and Norton have opened a laboratory on the College grounds for the purpose of practical instruction in the application of science to the arts and agriculture."

Norton was an enthusiastic teacher, who drew to his lectures men like Samuel William Johnson (q.v.), the founder of the Agricultural Experiment Station movement, and Frederick Law Olmsted (q.v.), the landscape architect. He died at the age of thirty, but he had started a new branch of study in America, and it is not inappropriate that his profile should have been selected to adorn one of the bronze doors of the new Department of Agriculture building at Washington.

> Yale's classic halls,
> In all their ancient pride, remember him;
> While, neath their dome, a thoughtful student band
> Who duly listened to his treasured lore,
> Lament their Teacher.[12]

His autograph is added, dated "Analytical Laboratory Yale College March 21st 1850."

[12] From Verses "On the death of Professor John Pitkin Norton," *Memorials of John Pitkin Norton*, p. 84.

THOMAS STERRY HUNT (Class of 1845-1846), Born, 1826; Died, 1892.

The case of Hunt is something like that of Edward Hitchcock. He spent two years in Silliman's Laboratory, and received all of his collegiate training at the University, but it was before the day of degrees in science, so his name does not appear in the published list of Yale alumni. He was born in Norwich, Connecticut, but soon after leaving New Haven moved to Canada, to become Chemist and Mineralogist on the Canadian Geological Survey, for which he did some of his most important work. Later he held professorships at Laval University, McGill, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He made an international reputation in the fields of chemical mineralogy and chemical geology. He combined to a rare degree the qualifications of an expert geologist, and of a philosophical student of scientific problems. His high standing is shown by his membership in the National Academy, the Royal Academy of London, and the Royal Society of Canada, of which he was President.

The letter was written from Quebec, in 1861, to his old Yale teacher, Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr., and shows a warm friendship for Silliman, Brush, "& all my friends" in New Haven. He forwards an article "on the Taconic System" for the *American Journal of Science*, to which he was a frequent contributor. He thinks the paper will be "a satisfactory settlement of the question" and gossips about the latest doings of men of science.

WILLIAM HENRY BREWER (Class of 1852), Born, 1828; Died, 1910.

Professor Brewer was one of that remarkable group of three men, all recently deceased, whose names head the list of graduates of the Scientific School. William Phipps Blake, Professor of Geology at the College of California and at the University of Arizona, and George Jarvis Brush,[13] mineralogist and Director of the Sheffield Scientific School, were the others. The three made a noble picture in the well-known group taken on the semi-centennial anniversary of their graduation.

Professor Brewer served under Whitney (q.v.) in the geographical survey of California. From 1864 until his death he was Professor of Agriculture in the Sheffield Scientific School. He was a member of the National Academy, and perhaps the last of the old-time scientists, who embraced most of nature in their field of study. Heredity, arctic exploration, mineralogy, geology, chemistry, surveying, public hygiene, botany, and agriculture, were among the

[13] Professor Brush's death, being after the publication of the 1910 Quinquennial Catalogue, was too recent to allow the separate inclusion of his name in these biographies. See Preface.

subjects to which he had given much study. He was interested in everything, and was constantly making jottings of his thoughts and observations, even when walking. The ovation given him in 1903, when he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from Yale, showed the unusual place which he held in the affections of his old students.

The letter in the Memorial Hall collection is a most interesting one written to his classmate, Professor Brush, in January, 1864, from California. "I had a glorious summers work, crossed the Sierras at nearly a dozen points, measured many high peaks and passes, had a grand time but a rough one. . . . . I took King [q.v.] with me on trip, he is a good fellow, tough, but dont like to do unpleasant work—yet I like him—"

CHAPTER VI

INVENTORS AND ARTISTS

I. THE UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO INVENTION AND ART

In the New York University Hall of Fame only three American inventors are recognized—Fulton, Morse, and Whitney. The first was not a college man, although Yale contributed indirectly to his success and reputation. The others were both Yale Bachelors of Arts. The University influenced Fulton through two graduates, whose biographies may be found in this volume: David Bushnell (B.A. 1775), who gave him his ideas of submarine navigation and of the use of torpedoes in offensive warfare, and Joel Barlow (B.A. 1778), with whom he lived in Paris, and from whom he received much appreciated help and encouragement in his work. To have given the higher education to two out of three of America's greatest inventors, and to have aided the third, is an achievement worthy of record.

If another inventor were to be added, and if the criteria were brilliancy of creative imagination and mechanical skill, Yale's little-known David Bushnell (B.A. 1775), who devised the submarine and the torpedo, might well be named, or if ingenuity as applied to one of civilization's necessities—good roads—were the test, the honor might be bestowed on Eli Whitney Blake (B.A. 1816). To him we are indebted for the stone-crushing machine, which has also greatly facilitated railroad construction, and other engineering works. Another Yale invention, now adopted the world over, is the weather chart of Elias Loomis (B.A. 1830), with its familiar isothermic curves. He is, however, more properly considered under the Men of Science.

The list of Yale's minor inventors is legion. The only one who seems to deserve special mention here is Alexander Catlin Twining (B.A. 1820), the inventor of the first machine for producing artificial ice successfully in large quantities. Unfortunately Charles Goodyear, a New Haven resident during many of the years when he was perfecting the method which has resulted in the modern rubber industry, was not a Yale graduate. Yet the University has a special interest in his success for he drew "daily counsel and aid from the old laboratory of Yale."[1]

As the administration of the United States Patent Office has been so intimately associated with the history of invention, it is not without interest to note that five of the twenty-eight commissioners who have been at its head, have been graduates: Henry Leavitt Ellsworth (B.A. 1810), William Darius Bishop (B.A. 1849), William Edgar Simonds (LL.B. 1866), John Sammis Seymour (B.A. 1875), and Frederick Innis Allen (Ph.B. 1879). The work of Commissioner Ellsworth, who held the office for eleven years, was specially distinguished. His *Digest of Patents, issued by the United States, from 1790 to January, 1839,* is of great value.

The expansion of the Sheffield Scientific School is resulting in attracting to the University an increasing number of students of scientific ability and of mechanical ingenuity. These conditions should mean a relatively larger section devoted to Inventors if a work similar to this is published a century hence. But to improve the quality of the list would hardly be possible, for Bushnell, Whitney, Morse, and Blake have a permanent place in the history of civilization.

The imaginative quality which leads a man to become an inventor is also shown in other fields, especially in discovery, pioneering, art, and literature. Each of these, except the last, is often found linked with invention in the classification of occupations, talents, fame, etc. The field of literature is so important that it is separately treated, while scientific discoverers are included under our Men of Science,

[1] Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr., in Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. I, p. 401.

especially that remarkable group connected with the Yale Faculty in the second half of the nineteenth century, of which Josiah Willard Gibbs (B.A. 1858)—the discoverer and interpreter of the laws of chemical equilibrium—was perhaps the most conspicuous name. Yale has also had many pioneers, who have been identified with extending the nation westward or with opening it to civilization. Several lives recorded in these volumes tell this story: Eleazar Wheelock (B.A. 1733), David Wooster and Phineas Lyman (B.A. 1738), David Brainerd (Class of 1743), Manasseh Cutler (B.A. 1765), John Palsgrave Wyllys (B.A. 1773), Peter Buell Porter (B.A. 1791), Junius Smith (B.A. 1802), James Gadsden (B.A. 1806), Theron Baldwin (B.A. 1827), and many others. With these should be named the geological surveyors, led by Josiah Dwight Whitney (B.A. 1839), William Henry Brewer (Ph.B. 1852), and Clarence King (Ph.B. 1862), who opened up the Western country to settlement and development. But these contributions to scientific discovery and to pioneering have been discussed elsewhere, especially the part played by the University and its graduates in new ventures of an educational character[2] which required a high development of the imaginative quality. So all that remains for special consideration here is a brief survey of the University's service to art.

The transition from Inventors to Artists is not so incongruous as it may appear—for this same faculty of the imagination is at the basis of both. In the case of Yale, the University's greatest inventor—Morse—was also her best-known painter. Frederick Law Olmsted (Class of 1842-1843 and 1845-1846) was not a graduate, but all of his university training was in the New Haven laboratories, in the early days when the Sillimans and their associates were laying the foundations which developed into the Sheffield Scientific School. Olmsted's work, both as the pioneer and the leading exemplar of the landscape architect's art in America, was of national significance. Frederic Remington A.N.A. (B.F.A. 1900), and Richard W.

[2] See Introduction to chapter on Educational Leaders.

Hubbard, N.A. (B.A. 1837), may be taken as other representative names among graduated artists no longer living. But Yale's main contribution in this field is the School of the Fine Arts, the first separately organized university department of its character in the world. With its traditions of nearly half a century, under the direction of John Ferguson Weir, N.A. (Hon. M.A. 1871), and its collections of Italian Masters, and of Trumbull and other American paintings, its future seems assured. In the past, artists, even more than literary men, have not often liked the restrictions of university work, and have preferred to lead a rather care-free Bohemian existence on the Continent. But the need of a more systematic training is now being realized, and the future will probably see more artists,[3] and especially architects, among university graduates.

[3] For the names of prominent Yale artists see footnote, p. 127.

II. REPRESENTATIVE BIOGRAPHIES, WITH LETTERS

David Bushnell

Class of 1775

Born, 1742; Died, 1824

Inventor of Torpedo and "Father of Submarine Warfare"

Bushnell's name has never been well known to the public. His portrait has not been preserved, the exact dates of his birth and death are unknown, and almost no facts are available for the last thirty years of his life. Yet his claims to recognition as a brilliant inventor are unquestioned by those qualified to judge from a knowledge of his work in laying the foundations of the modern science of the submarine.

He was born at Saybrook, Connecticut, where his father was a farmer of small means. His college preparation was cared for by his pastor, a Yale graduate,[1] who was an excellent classical scholar and an ardent patriot. He was nearly thirty when he entered Yale. There are few references to him in the minutes of his debating club—Linonia—and they throw no light on his development. He was one of the subscribers to the purchase of Rollin's *Ancient History* for the society's library. The records for the summer of his graduation state that there were "no Anniversary exercises this year on account of the publick difficulties arising from the controversy between Great Brittain and the Colonies; but love and benevolence abound among all the members of the Fellowship club."[2] As President Stiles records in his diary that most of the candidates for the Master's degree in 1778 paid him twelve dollars as a "gratuity," and as Bushnell is down as paying "nothing," it may be assumed that his circumstances

[1] Rev. John Devotion (B.A. 1754).
[2] MS. Records Linonia, April 20, 1775.

during student days were very modest. In his Freshman year he conceived the idea of the modern torpedo, which he perfected shortly before graduation. A most interesting reference to the machine is found in a letter written to Ezra Stiles, afterwards President, by Tutor Lewis, when Bushnell was a Senior. It is preserved in Stiles' *Diary* for August 15, 1775, in this form, the Latin being probably used to make it less likely that the knowledge of the invention would become known to the enemy, in case the letter should fall into unfriendly hands:

> Last Eveng. I rec^{d} a Letter from M^{r} Tutor Lewis of Yale College. Speaking of M^{r} Bushnel a Student there he says—"Hic Homo est Machinæ Inventor, quæ ad Naves Bostoniæ portu Pulveris pyrii Explosione destruendas, nunc est fabricata & fere perfecta. Machina ita est formata, ut 20 aut ampliùs pedes sub undas celeriter transeat, & Pulveris pyrii 2000^{lb} portare et Navis Carinæ infigere possit. Statim vel post Minuta decem vel Semi-horam, secundum Operatoris Voluntatem, Horologium totam Massam inflammabit." &c. . . . .[3]

It was therefore on the Yale Campus, and probably in Bushnell's room, that the torpedo was invented. Timothy Dwight, the year before he became President, wrote:

> See Bushnell's strong, creative genius, fraught
> With all th' assembled powers of skilful thought,
> His mystic vessel plunge beneath the waves,
> And glide thro' dark retreats, and coral caves![4]

The year after graduation was spent at Saybrook, constructing the "American Turtle," which was ready for use late the following spring, thanks to some help from the Governor and Council, to whom he explained "his machine for blowing up ships."[5] We are fortunate to have had preserved in some correspondence between two well-known Yale graduates—Dr. Benjamin Gale (q.v.) and Silas Deane (q.v.)—an exact description of this interesting small vessel, destined to be the prototype of the great submarine fleets of the world.

[3] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 600.
[4] Dwight, *Greenfield Hill*, p. 163, Part vii, lines 431-434.
[5] Acts of the Governor [Connecticut] and Council of Safety, February 2, 1776. Quoted by Abbot, *The Beginning of Modern Submarine Warfare*, p. 174.

It is also the first description, except for the brief Latin reference above, and so seems worthy of reproduction at length. Dr. Gale wrote in November, 1775:

I now sit down to give you a succinct but imperfect account of its structure, which is so complicated that it is impossible to give a perfect idea of it.

The body, when standing upright in the position in which it is navigated, has the nearest resemblance to the two upper shells of a Tortoise joined together. In length, it doth not exceed 7½ feet from the stem to the higher part of the rudder: the height not exceeding 6 feet. The person who navigates it enters at the top. It has a brass top or cover, which receives the person's head as he sits on a seat, and is fastened on the inside by screws. In this brass head is fixed eight glasses, viz. two before, two on each side, one behind, and one to look forward. In the same brass head are fixed two brass tubes, to admit fresh air when requisite, and a ventilator at the side to free the machine from the air rendered unfit for respiration. On the inside is fixed a Barometer, by which he can tell the depth he is under water; a Compass, by which he knows the course he steers. In the barometer and on the needles of the compass is fixed fox-fire, i. e. wood that gives light in the dark. His ballast consists of about 900 wt. of lead which he carries at the bottom and on the outside of the machine, part of which is so fixed as he can let run down to the bottom, and serves as an anchor, by which he can ride *ad libitum*. He has a sounding lead fixed at the bow, by which he can take the depth of water under him; and to bring the machine into a perfect equilibrium with the water, he can admit so much water as is necessary, and has a forcing pump by which he can free the machine at pleasure, and can rise above water, and again immerge, as occasion requires.

In the bow, he has a pair of oars fixed like the two opposite arms of a windmill, with which he can row forward, and turning them the opposite way row the machine backward; another pair fixed upon the same model, with which he can row the machine round, either to the right or left; and a third, by which he can row the machine either up or down: all which are turned by foot, like a spinning wheel. The rudder by which he steers, he manages by hand, within board. All these shafts which pass through the machine are so curiously fixed as not to admit any water to incommode the machine. The magazine for powder is carried on the hinder part of the machine, without board, and so contrived, that when he comes under the side of the ship, he rubs down the side until he comes to the keel, and a hook so fixed as that when it touches the keel it raises a spring which frees the magazine from the machine and fastens it to the side of the ship; at the same time it draws a pin, which sets the watch-work a going which, at a given time, springs the lock and the explosion occurs.

Three magazines are prepared; the first, the explosion takes place in twelve, the second in eight, the third in six hours after being fixed to the ship. He proposes to fix these three before the first explosion takes place.[6]

[6] *Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society*, Vol. II, p. 315. Quoted by Abbot, pp. 176, 177.

Such was the brilliant invention. Dr. Gale, in a letter written the following year, says that he has conversed fully with the inventor, adding: "He is no enthusiast; a perfect philosopher, and by no means doubtful of succeeding."[7] But unfortunately the actual success of the machine was not up to its promise or its merits. In the summer of 1776 it was taken to New York to operate against a British man-of-war lying in the harbor. This was the first use of a torpedo in naval history, and Bushnell was the first to use the word to describe his own machine.[8] The ship selected as the object of attack was commanded by Lord Howe, the admiral of the British fleet, and it is probable that the attempt would have succeeded had it not been for two unfortunate occurrences: the illness of the skilled operator, necessitating the hurried training of a substitute, and the fact that the latter was unable to find on the enemy's ship any wooden surface or copper which could be pierced, and as the screw, which was to fasten the detachable magazine to the submerged portion of the hull, would not penetrate iron, he had to give up the undertaking. General Putnam, and others who witnessed the attempt, could see that the torpedo was perfectly navigable and dirigible, and were convinced that had Sergeant Ezra Lee only moved a few feet along the ship away from the iron bar, which he encountered near the rudder, the fifty-gun "Eagle" would have been wrecked by the torpedo's magazine of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder. On his return to shore, Lee cast off this latter in mid harbor, in his desire to escape danger by greater speed. In due time the onlookers saw a tremendous explosion of water—the clock-work control having done its duty perfectly.

Of the many other exploits of Bushnell in the war, two deserve special mention. In August, 1777, he floated a machine guided by a line against some British shipping near New London. It was intended to destroy the frigate "Cerberus." This it failed to do, but it demolished the next ship, killing several of its crew. This was the

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 358. Date of letter, February 1, 1776.
[8] See Thacher, *Military Journal*, for October, 1776, p. 63.

first successful use of torpedoes in history. No wonder that Commodore Symons of the British Navy, officially reporting the incident, stated that "the ingenuity of these people is singular in their secret modes of mischief . . . . !"[9]

The next operation is less important, but much more famous. Bushnell fixed several kegs filled with powder under water in the Delaware River, to drift down and injure the enemy's ships at Philadelphia. Only one boat was destroyed, but the occurrence caused the British great alarm, as depicted in one of the most popular of Revolutionary songs, Francis Hopkinson's *The Battle of the Kegs.*

> It is a mere matter of history to add, that this jingling little story of "The Battle of the Kegs"—mere doggerel though it is—flew from colony to colony, in those grim early months of the year 1778, like some merry messenger of gay tidings; and that, in many a camp, and along a thousand highroads, and by ten thousand patriot firesides, it gave the weary and anxious people the luxury of genuine and hearty laughter in very scorn of the enemy. To the cause of the Revolution, it was perhaps worth as much, just then, by way of emotional tonic and of military inspiration, as the winning of a considerable battle would have been.[10]

In 1779 Bushnell was appointed captain lieutenant of the newly organized corps of Sappers and Miners. He was later promoted to a full captaincy, and served until the end of the war, taking part, among many events, in the great victory at Yorktown. The invention and experiments, for which he was very inadequately paid by the state, exhausted his slender resources, so he went abroad to try his fortunes there. After several years in France he returned to America, and being unmarried, began life anew as "Dr. Bush," known as a teacher and doctor in and near Warrenton, Georgia. The last years are shrouded in considerable uncertainty. It is clear, however, that he acquired some property,[11] that he was interested in education, and that he was highly respected in the community. What General

[9] Official Report, August 15, 1777, to Sir Peter Parke. Quoted by Abbot, p. 193.
[10] Tyler, *Literary History,* Vol. II, p. 149.
[11] The author has found record in Warrenton of a deed to certain lots in favor of "David Bush," December 6, 1803.

Putnam wrote to Washington, in May, 1779, when Bushnell was captured by the British near Norwalk, seems to have been prophetic of this little-recognized inventor: "As the last mentioned gentleman who was there in his unremitted endeavors to destroy the enemy's shipping, is personally known to very few people, it is possible he may not be discovered by his real name or character, and may be considered of less consequence than he actually is."[12] It is gratifying, in view of this lack of general knowledge, to find that the Commander-in-chief appreciated his services, saying that he was "a man of great mechanical powers, fertile in inventions and master of execution."[13]

David Bushnell's name and work are so little known that it seems best to substantiate, from authoritative opinions, our claim for him as a great inventor. In 1869 Lieutenant Commander John S. Barnes, of the United States Navy, published a volume entitled *Submarine Warfare, Offensive and Defensive.* It contains the following:

> To David Bushnell of Connecticut is justly attributed the idea of attacking a ship by applying to its submerged parts a magazine of powder, which, when exploded by devices contrived for the purpose, should disable or destroy her. He may also be said to have originated a plan for submarine navigation, in pursuance of which he constructed the first submarine boat capable of locomotion, of which there is any accurate record in history. In its application as a means of warfare, he must have entire credit for originality.

In 1881, Lieutenant Colonel Henry L. Abbot, of the United States Army, a member of the National Academy of Sciences, wrote:

> The fundamental principle of modern submarine mining is the utilization of the pressure of the water to develop the requisite intensity of action in an explosion near the vessel to be destroyed.
>
> The practical importance of this principle was first appreciated and experimentally established, in 1771-75, by David Bushnell, then an under-graduate of Yale College at New Haven, Connecticut. He also originated the first submarine boat capable of locomotion, of which we have any accurate records. To him, therefore, has justly been conceded the credit of inaugurating modern torpedo warfare.[14]

[12] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution,* p. 307.
[13] Sparks, *Writings of Washington,* Vol. IX, p. 134. Quoted by Abbot, p. 166.
[14] Abbot, *The Beginning of Modern Submarine Warfare,* p. 163.

Everything that we know of him confirms the impression that he was a man of genius, of patriotism, and of character, while the amply attested fact that his invention was made while a Yale undergraduate adds to the pleasure of trying to give a largely overlooked man his deserts. Had his physical strength been equal to his bravery, he probably would have been his own engineer, and a successful one, but he was not strong enough to propel the "American Turtle" or "Torpedo," and had to trust it to less experienced and less resourceful hands. Had it not been for their mistakes his fame would doubtless have been much greater.

In addition to his invention of the submarine, there seems ground to claim that Bushnell was the first person in America to devise and employ the submerged propeller, and the author can find no earlier reference to an actual use of the screw for purposes of propulsion, even in Europe.[15] Daniel Bernouilli, in 1752, won a prize offered by the French Academy of Sciences for the best method of propelling vessels without wind. But his plan was merely a precursor of the modern paddle wheel. In 1768 Paucton suggested "the employment of a screw . . . . for propelling vessels," but as far as has been ascertained, Bushnell seems to have been the first actually to employ it.[16]

The best account of Bushnell's work is that given in Abbot's *The Beginning of Modern Submarine Warfare, Under Captain-Lieutenant David Bushnell.* This is paper No. III, of the Engineer School of Application, Willets Point, New York Harbor. It includes full quotations from Bushnell's account of his invention and experiments in the *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* Vol. IV, p. 303.

As the author has been unable to find an original autograph of Bushnell for his collection, a facsimile of one in the New York Public

[15] For the historical facts on which these claims are made see *A Treatise on the Screw Propeller,* by John Bourne, C.E., London, 1867.

[16] This achievement is generally identified with the name of John Stevens, who, in 1804, successfully applied steam to the screw propeller as a motive power.

Library is exhibited. It reads as follows:

Provission Return for tow Men Discharged from the Corps of Seppers & Miners to Carry them to Noridg Commensing the fifth & Ending the Eleventh of July 1783—

	Nº of Days	Nº of Rashons
two Privets	7	14
Total		14

Issue one the ABove Returen fourteen Rashons—

D. Bushnell Capt. Comd.

ELI WHITNEY
Class of 1792

Born, December 8, 1765; Died, January 8, 1825
Inventor of the Cotton-Gin

The inventor of the cotton-gin was the son of a prosperous farmer of Westboro, Massachusetts. He early showed mechanical tastes, and when still a lad made a local reputation by manufacturing nails, hatpins, and walking canes. The opposition of a stepmother made his going to college difficult, and it was not until he was twenty-three that he had earned enough money, through manual work and village school-teaching, to secure the special tutoring necessary to prepare for Yale. This was obtained from Rev. Elizur Goodrich (B.A. 1752), for many years Fellow and Secretary of the Yale Corporation.

As an undergraduate he showed special ability in mathematics, was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and took part in a dialogue at Quarter-Day of Junior year. His Yankee ingenuity was shown by his successfully repairing some apparatus which the authorities thought would have to be returned to Europe before it could again be used. His skill with tools was a good resource for one mainly dependent upon his own efforts for support while securing an education. He took much interest in Linonia, participated in its debates, and was active in conducting its affairs. Here is a passage from the minutes: "After a cool deliberation it was agreed by the Society to chose members to write exercises for a public anniversary the year following. The Society accordingly chose Whitney of the Seignior class to write the first Oration."[1] It is also recorded that as President of the society he "delivered a very agreable narration" to the newcomers, and that he won a debate on capital punishment "after a warm and handsome discussion of the subject."[2] His records

[1] MS. Records of Linonia, August 25, 1791.
[2] *Ibid.*, September 8, and November 22, 1791.

as scribe are kept in the neatest possible manner, in contrast with some other holders of this office. At the close of his term he inscribed in the minute book this tribute to his society: "The Spheres may cease to roll & the Sun forget to rise, but the immaculate LINONIA shall forever Shine conspicuous with increasing LUSTRE."[3]

The Phi Beta Kappa Society was then conducted largely for purposes of debate, and it is clear from the records that he was much interested in its activities. He debated, "Do we derive a right from the laws of Nature to inflict the punishment of death for any crime whatsoever?", "Ought the Debates of the national Senate to be public?", and "Is the Indian War founded on principles of justice?"—all of which were decided by the society in the affirmative. His reputation for ability during student days is shown in a letter written eighteen months after his graduation to Oliver Wolcott (q.v.), Secretary of the Treasury, by his college friend, Elizur Goodrich (B.A. 1779), the son of his former teacher. In it he says:

> Whitney graduated at Yale College, Sept. 1792, sustained a very fair reputation in the academic studies, and is perhaps inferior to none in an acquaintance with the mechanic powers, and those branches of natural philosophy which are applicable to the commerce and manufactures of our country. To theory he happily unites talents to reduce it to practice; a circumstance which is rarely found in our young gentlemen of collegiate education. Surpassing the exactest workman of my acquaintance in wood, brass and iron, he is his own master workman in these respective branches, and resorts to himself to reduce his theories to experiment and practice.[4]

His general position in his class is indicated by his being chosen by the Faculty, in Senior year, to deliver the address on the occasion of the death of a classmate. This old-time funeral oration seems to have been his first and only separate publication. These words from it are characteristic of the man both as an undergraduate and in after life: "We soon must quit these favorite walks of science and retirement, and go forth each to perform his destined task on the busy stage of life. Let us ever be actuated by principles of integrity, and always

[3] *Ibid.*, August 27, 1789.
[4] Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams*, p. 128.

maintain a consciousness of doing right."[5] The Class Secretary, in his unpublished record, states that his classmates little appreciated Whitney's latent energies. He is described as "deliberate and self-collected, marked for his mildness and amiability."[6] He was a good student, lived simply, and was respected by all.

Whitney had planned to read law, but his resources were too small to permit further study, so like many young Yale graduates of the period, he accepted a position as a tutor in a Southern family. He went South on the same ship with the family of General Nathanael Greene, and stopped for a time at their plantation at Mulberry Grove, near Savannah, Georgia. Here the need of some machine for separating the upland cotton staple from its seed pressed itself upon him, and, having relinquished his teaching position, he almost immediately devised the essential features of his later invention. In this work he was greatly encouraged by his fellow Yalensian, Phineas Miller (B.A. 1785), who was a tutor in the family.[7] By April, 1793, a working model of the machine was in operation, and his trials began. The invention was of such great commercial value that rumors regarding it spread like wildfire, and efforts to keep the secret proved futile. The trouble finally culminated in a raid, when the machine was carried away and reproduced, with slight variations, in different parts of the state. This increased the difficulty of securing a patent, but papers were finally granted, March 4, 1794,[8] almost a year after the application was made. Whitney's own account of the invention is given in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State:

> It is about a year since I first turned my attention to constructing this machine, at which time I was in the State of Georgia. Within about ten days after my first conception of the plan, I made a small, though imperfect model. Experiments with this encouraged me to make one on a larger scale; but the extreme difficulty of procuring workmen and proper materials in Georgia, prevented my completing the larger one until some time in April last. This, though much larger than my

[5] *An Oration on the death of Mr. Robert Grant,* p. 15.
[6] MS. Memoirs of the Class of 1792, p. 209.
[7] Olmsted, *Memoirs of Eli Whitney,* p. 15.
[8] The model was exhibited at the President's house at Yale ten days earlier. Stiles, *Diary,* Vol. III, pp. 516, 517.

first attempt, is not above one third as large as the machines may be made with convenience. The cylinder is only two feet two inches in length, and six inches diameter. It is turned *by hand* and requires the strength of one man to keep it in constant motion. It is the stated task of one negro to clean fifty weight, (I mean fifty pounds after it is separated from the seed,) of the green seed cotton per day.[9]

Almost interminable lawsuits now began, and every possible attempt was made to cheat Whitney out of the well-deserved fruits of his ingenuity. But he persisted, and although the renewal of the patent was denied by Congress, he derived satisfaction from knowing that his invention was of incalculable benefit to the South, and he gained some reward through the purchase by several states of the rights to use the machine. A letter to a college friend, Josiah Stebbins (B.A. 1791), tells of his first large financial success. It was with South Carolina, whose legislature purchased the local rights for fifty thousand dollars, of which nearly one-half was paid in cash.[10]

A good contemporary evidence of the value of the invention to the South was given in Judge Johnson's decision in favor of Whitney, against some of his persistent patent trespassers, at a session of the United States Court, in Georgia, December, 1807:

With regard to the utility of this discovery, the Court would deem it a waste of time to dwell long upon this topic. Is there a man who hears us, who has not experienced its utility? The whole interior of the Southern States was languishing, and its inhabitants emigrating for want of some object to engage their attention and employ their industry, when the invention of this machine at once opened views to them, which set the whole country in active motion. From childhood to age it has presented to us a lucrative employment. Individuals who were depressed with poverty and sunk in idleness, have suddenly risen to wealth and respectability. Our debts have been paid off. Our capitals have increased, and our lands trebled themselves in value. We cannot express the weight of the obligation which the country owes to this invention. The extent of it cannot now be seen. Some faint presentiment may be formed from the reflection that cotton is rapidly supplanting wool, flax, silk, and even furs in manufactures, and may one day profitably supply the use of specie in our East India trade. Our sister States, also, participate in the benefits of this invention; for, besides affording the raw material for their manufacturers, the bulkiness and quantity of the article afford a valuable employment for their shipping.[11]

[9] Olmsted, *Memoirs of Eli Whitney*, p. 17. Date of letter, November 24, 1793.
[10] *Ibid.*, Letter, p. 30.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

Eli Whitney

Class of 1792

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[9] Olmsted, *Memoirs of Eli Whitney*, p. 11. Date of letter, November 24, 1793.
[10] *Ibid.*, Letter, p. 30.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

One of Mr. Whitney's legal counsel was his college friend, Hon. Samuel M. Hopkins (B.A. 1791). He knew as well as anyone the trials through which the inventor passed during these years, and has borne valuable testimony to the spirit in which they were met. He states that in all his experience in the thorny profession of the law, he has never seen such a case of perseverance, under such persecution; nor, he adds, "do I believe that I ever knew any other man who would have met them with equal coolness and firmness, or who would finally have obtained even the partial success which he had. He always called on me in New York, on his way South, when going to attend his endless trials, and to meet the mischievous contrivances of men who seemed inexhaustible in their resources of evil. Even now, after thirty years, my head aches to recollect his narratives of new trials, fresh disappointments, and accumulated wrongs."[12] The legal contests, the burning of the cotton-gin factory, the death of his partner, Miller, financial difficulties, and other troubles, which would have completely discouraged any man of less strength of character, finally determined Whitney to turn his main energies into another line, the manufacture of firearms. He bought a tract of land at the foot of East Rock, New Haven, and erected what was at the time the model American factory. It is still standing and in use for manufacturing purposes. Here he made for years the muskets used by the army of the United States. His system of factory management, with large division of labor, was new in this country, and did much to introduce the modern era of industry, which has made Connecticut and its mechanics famous the world over. He also used new types of labor-saving machinery of his own invention, which greatly increased both the quality of the product, and the financial rewards of the inventor. Secretary Wolcott's estimate of his services and character as a manufacturer of arms is interesting:

New York, May 7, 1814.

Sir—I have the honor to address you on behalf of my friend, Eli Whitney, Esq.,

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

of New Haven, who is a manufacturer of arms, under a contract with your department. Mr. Whitney first engaged in this business under a contract with me, as Secretary of the Treasury; when, according to existing laws, all contracts for military supplies were formed under my superintendence. I have since been constantly acquainted with him, and venture to assure you that the present improved state of our manufactures is greatly indebted to his skill and exertions; that though a practical mechanic, he is also a gentleman of liberal education, a man of science, industry and integrity, and that his inventions and labors have been as useful to this country as those of any other individual. Moreover, that if any further alterations or improvements in the construction of military machines are proposed, Mr. Whitney is one of the few men who can safely and advantageously be consulted, respecting the best mode of giving them effect.

I make these declarations to you with a perfect conviction that they express nothing more than Mr. Whitney has a right to demand from every man who is acquainted with his merits and capable of estimating their value; and understanding that he experiences some difficulties in regard to his contract, I venture respectfully to request that you would so far extend to him your favor as to inform yourself particularly of the merits of his case and the services he can perform; in which case I am certain he will receive all the patronage and protection to which he is entitled.

I have the honor to remain, with the highest respect, Sir,
Your obedient servant, (Signed) Oliver Wolcott.
The Hon. Secretary Armstrong.[13]

He was still engaged in the work of manufacturing arms near New Haven when he died. The city of his education and of his adoption honors him as one of its most eminent citizens, and as the founder of its largest industry. It has named after him Whitney Avenue, Whitneyville, and Lake Whitney. His tombstone is in the Grove Street Cemetery, and contains a simple inscription referring to him as "The Inventor of the Cotton Gin. Of useful Science and Arts, the efficient Patron and Improver. In the social relations of life, a Model of excellence." An original model of the cotton-gin belongs to his grandson in New Haven, and the College has his portrait painted by another Yale inventor, Samuel F. B. Morse (q.v.) His home is still standing at 388 Orange Street, as is also the dignified residence, with its spacious grounds, on the northwest corner of Elm and Orange streets, which was built in his later years, but which he never occupied.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Whitney's ties with Yale were many and close. His partner, his biographer, his counsel, and many of his best and most influential friends, were graduates. That the College believed in him is shown by an extract from President Dwight's letter to Hon. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, at the time when the inventor was about to sell his patent rights to that state. He refers to him as "a man who has rarely, perhaps never, been exceeded in ingenuity or industry; and not often in worth of every kind. Every respectable man in this region will rejoice to see him liberally rewarded for so useful an effort, and for a life of uncommon benefit to the public."[14] That he believed in his Alma Mater was made evident by his giving her, in 1823, five hundred dollars, on condition that the interest be used to buy for the Library books on practical mechanics, and on the mechanical and physical sciences.[15] No one would have rejoiced more than he if he had lived to see the starting at the University of a department mainly devoted to the physical, mathematical, and natural sciences.

Of Whitney's achievement there is no difference of opinion. He won an election in the first group chosen for the Hall of Fame in New York, but the South has not shown him the peculiar honor he deserves. Monuments to General Lee and the Confederate Army are countless, but Whitney, the greatest benefactor of the Cotton States, has not received any marked recognition. The value of the cotton-gin in his own life-time is shown by the simple statement that the country's cotton crop increased from five million pounds, in 1793, to two hundred and fifty-five million, in 1825.[16] But more important

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[15] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. V, p. 49.

[16] The following table, prepared from facts given in Olmsted's *Memoirs*, p. 73, shows in the second column the total cotton crop in pounds in the year mentioned, and in the third column the amount exported:

1793	5,000,000	487,600
1794	8,000,000	1,601,760
1800	35,000,000	17,789,803
1810	85,000,000	84,657,384 *
1825	255,000,000	166,784,629 *

* Specified as including only "upland" cotton.

than statistics are the conditions and facts on which they are based. Here it may be safely stated that it has been given to no single man in modern times to add more to the material prosperity of a nation than did Whitney with his invention. We may cite the testimony of a great inventor, and of an equally great historian. Robert Fulton said that Arkwright, Watt, and Whitney were the three men who did most for mankind of any of their contemporaries,[17] while Macaulay's impressive words may well be used to close this sketch: "What Peter the Great did to make Russia dominant, Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton-gin has more than equalled in its relation to the power and progress of the United States."[18]

Mr. Josiah Whitney

Sir

You are hereby empower'd to give lisence for the construction or use of Machin's for gining Cotton on the same principles for which we have obtain'd an exclusive right under a patent from the United States on the following terms—for the construction of a Gin and a right to Use it for nine Years from last Nov^{r}. we shall ask four hundred Dollars provided the Gin be capable of Cleaning not more than two hundred weight p^{r} Day if it exceeds that amount price to be in proportion—for the right to use a gin of the same sise and construction provided we make and furnish it we shall require the sum of five hundred Dollars the one half being paid down in either of the two cases the term of one Year may be given for the other half—for person who have already trespased on our patent right by using Gin's constructed on the same principles of our's we shall consent to accept an indemnity if early application be made at the rate of one hundred dollars in Money for each Year that such gin of the sise before mention'd has been employed and shall give an exemption in such case from the penalty of the law————in preference to giving certificate yourself of any of these privileges of our patent right we shall wish you to communicate to us your terms of agreement with any person on the subject which we shall sanction by furnishing immediately the necessary certificate—

We are your friends & Obed Servants

Miller & Whitney—

Uptons Creek Jan^{y} 8th 1799—

[17] Olmsted, *Memoirs of Eli Whitney*, p. 63.
[18] Quoted from MacCracken, *The Hall of Fame*, p. 192.

This is a firm letter, but, including the signature, it is entirely in Whitney's handwriting. It does little credit to his rhetoric, but it may be easily understood, if, in reading, each dash (—) is considered as beginning a new paragraph.

The partnership of Miller & Whitney was formed in 1793. Phineas Miller was a Yale graduate (B.A. 1785), and a Georgia planter, who married the widow of Nathanael Greene, the distinguished general of the Revolution. He was sanguine of the success of Whitney's invention, and advanced considerable money to help him perfect the machine and secure a patent, with a duly formed agreement "that the profits and advantages arising there from, as well as all privileges and emoluments to be derived from patenting, making, vending, and working the same, should be mutually and equally shared between them."[19] The patent rights which are offered in the letter to Eli Whitney's brother, Josiah Whitney, of Boston, were based on the United States patent issued March 4, 1794.

As this business document does not contain Whitney's full signature, a letter of his under date of February 16, 1809, is added. It is addressed to Hon. Jonathan Sturges (B.A. 1759), regarding a machine for churning butter.

[19] Olmsted, *Memoirs of Eli Whitney,* p. 15.

Samuel Finley Breese Morse

Class of 1810

Born, April 27, 1791; Died, April 2, 1872

Inventor of the Electric Telegraph, and Artist

S. F. B. Morse is in the forefront of the world's great inventors of all ages. The study of his life, with special reference to tracing the early roots of his ideas, and of the influences exerted upon him, will show that Yale men have a right to take special pride in his achievements. He was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, the son of Rev. Jedidiah Morse (q.v.), well known as "the Father of American Geography," and one of the most indefatigable workers for religion and education in his generation. His interest in science was one of the factors which influenced the son's career. The parents had eleven children, eight of whom died in infancy, while the three surviving sons, of whom Samuel was the eldest, were graduated from Yale in successive years. Morse entered college after the catalogue of the members of the Freshman class was published in the fall of 1806. His classmates considered him a man of character, judgment, and ability, although he was not distinguished for scholarship. The first interesting glimpse that we get of him is in Sophomore year, when he was chosen by his class to be on a committee to settle difficulties at Commons. He wrote:

> We had a new affair here a few days ago. The college cooks were arraigned before the tribunal of the students, consisting of a committee of four from each class in college; I was chosen as one of the committee from the Sophomore class. We sent for two of the worst cooks, and were all Saturday afternoon in trying them; found them guilty of several charges, such as being insolent to the students, not exerting themselves to cook clean for us, in concealing pies which belonged to the students, having suppers at midnight, and inviting all their neighbors and friends to sup with them at the expense of the students and this not once in a while, but almost every night. . . . . The committee, after arranging the charges in their proper order, presented them to the president; he has had the authorities together, and they are now considering the subject. This afternoon, Tuesday, December 29th,

they have been together, and I, with many others, have been with them all the afternoon; there was no recitation at four o'clock, they were so busily engaged.[1]

This experience had nothing to do with the invention of the telegraph, but every college man who looks back on his own undergraduate days, knows that responsible committee work, when not overdone, has an important educational influence. It makes a great inventor seem very modern when we find him serving, as Morse did, as a manager of the Commencement Ball, and very human when we read in the Faculty records: "'Voted that Morse of the Junior class, for disrespectful language to the officers of this College receive his first warning."[2]

The leading factors in his development at Yale were personal. Three men on the Faculty left their definite impress upon him: President Dwight, and more especially, Professors Day and Silliman. Dwight's influence was general and showed itself in the strengthening of character and of mental habits, whereas his two associates, both teaching science, gave him in germ the knowledge of those secrets which he was to develop, and to make of broad service to mankind. Professor Silliman made the following statement as to the instruction bearing on electricity, which he gave to the Class of 1810:

S. F. B. Morse was an attendant on my lectures in the years 1808, 1809, and 1810. I delivered lectures on chemistry and *galvanic electricity*. The batteries then in use were the *pile of Volta,* the battery of *Cruikshanks,* and the *Couronne des tasses,* well known to the cultivators of that branch of science. *I always exhibited these batteries to my classes; they were dissected before them, and their members and the arrangement of the parts, and the mode of exciting them, were always shown.*[3]

Professor Day's statement, also prepared to help substantiate Morse's claim to priority of invention of the telegraph, by showing when and how his mind was first directed to the study of electricity, was as follows:

In my lectures on Natural Philosophy, the subject of electricity was specially illustrated and experimented upon. Enfield's work was the text-book. The terms

[1] Prime, *Life of Morse,* p. 17.
[2] MS. Records of the Faculty of Yale College, for August 4, 1809.
[3] Prime, *Life of Morse,* p. 20.

of the 21st Proposition of Book V. of "Enfield's Philosophy," are these: "If the circuit be interrupted, the fluid will become visible, and when it passes it will leave an impression upon any intermediate body." I lectured upon and illustrated the first two experiments propounded by the 21st Proposition, and I recollect the fact with certainty, by memoranda now in my possession. The experiments referred to are in terms as follows:

Experiment 1st. Let the fluid pass through a chain, or through any metallic bodies, placed at small distances from each other, the fluid in a dark room will be visible between the links of the chain, or between the metallic bodies.

Experiment 2d. If the circuit be interrupted by several folds of paper, a perforation will be made through it, and each of the leaves will be protruded by the stroke from the middle to the outward leaves.[4]

In a letter written in 1867, Morse acknowledged that these experiments first gave him the key to his later invention: "The fact that the presence of electricity can be made visible in any desired part of the circuit was the crude seed that took root in my mind, and grew up into form, and ripened into the invention of the Telegraph."[5]

That these lectures by Professor Day interested him at the time is further shown by this letter written in 1809:

Mr. Day's lectures are very interesting; they are upon electricity; he has given us some very fine experiments, the whole class, taking hold of hands, form the circuit of communication, and we all received the shock apparently at the same moment. I never took an electric shock before; it felt as if some person had struck me a slight blow across the arms.[6]

To establish beyond question the point that Professors Day and Silliman, in their lectures and experiments, laid the foundations of the knowledge which made possible Morse's later invention, it is only necessary to quote from his letter written in the summer of 1846 to President Day:

Permit me to return, through you, my sincere thanks to the honorable corporation for the high honor they have conferred upon me at the late commencement, in bestowing upon me the degree of Doctor of Laws. I esteem it doubly valuable as emanating from my much-loved and venerated *alma mater.* In the success with which it has pleased God to crown my telegraphic invention, it is not the least gratifying circumstance that you consider the invention as reflecting credit on my collegiate instruction, and I may therefore say that, in reviewing the mental processes

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[6] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. II, p. 424.

by which I arrived at the final result, I can distinctly trace them back to their incipiency, in the lessons of my esteemed instructors in natural philosophy and in chemistry. Later developments in electro-magnetism in the lectures of Professor J. F. Dana were, indeed, the more immediate sources whence I drew much of my material, but this was dependent for its efficacy on my earlier college instruction.[7]

Morse worked his way through college largely by painting. He charged five dollars for a miniature on ivory, and one dollar for a simple profile. He seems to have carried on a flourishing business.

The twenty years of his life after receiving his degree were almost entirely devoted to art. He has become so famous as an inventor that his work as a portrait painter is apt to be overlooked. It is interesting to remember that the inventor of the telegraph and the inventor of the steamboat—Robert Fulton—both began their careers as artists. Morse studied under Washington Allston (whose well-known work, *Jeremiah,* he later presented to the Yale School of the Fine Arts) and accompanied him to London, where his studies were continued under Benjamin West. He was soon exhibiting at the Royal Academy, and was beginning to make his reputation as a portrait painter. Five examples of his work belong to the University, including the well-known portraits of Eli Whitney and of Chancellor Kent, reproduced in these volumes. He had studios at Boston and later at Charleston, but it was with New York City that he was most intimately connected. There he took a leading place in art circles, and had the honor of being elected the first President of the National Academy of Design. The important part which he played in our art history is well brought out in such an authoritative work as Isham's *History of American Painting.* The author laments Morse's turning from painting to invention, and continues:

It was a serious loss, for Morse, without being a genius, was yet perhaps better calculated than another to give in pictures the spirit of the difficult times from 1830 to 1860. . . . . Working as he did under widely varying conditions, his paintings are dissimilar not only in merit but in method of execution; even his portraits vary from thin, free handling to solid impasto. Yet in the best of them there is a real painter's feeling for his material, the heads have a soundness of construction and

[7] Prime, *Life of Morse,* p. 604. Original among manuscripts in University Library.

a freshness in the carnations that recall Raeburn rather than West; the poses are graceful or interesting, the costumes are skilfully arranged, and in addition he understands perfectly the character of his sitters, the men and women of the transition period, shrewd, capable, but rather commonplace, without the ponderous dignity of Copley's subjects or the cosmopolitan graces of a later day.[8]

But some lectures by Professor James F. Dana on electromagnetism, which he heard in the years 1826 and 1827, at the New York Athenæum, turned his thoughts from art to science. They reawakened, and gave new significance to his undergraduate interest in electricity. Five years later, in Paris, Fenimore Cooper records that Morse "communicated to us his ideas on the subject of using the electric spark by way of a telegraph."[9] In October, 1832, in conversation with another friend, on an Atlantic steamer, he said: "If the presence of electricity can be made visible in any part of the circuit, I see no reason why intelligence may not be transmitted instantaneously by electricity. . . . . If it can go ten miles without stopping, I can make it go around the globe."[10] The idea gripped his mind, and before leaving shipboard he had devised the dot-and-dash system, now universally known and used as the "Morse alphabet," and had drawn plans for the transmitting and recording instruments. But to complete satisfactorily the working models, and to overcome all obstacles, required years of hard labor and of real consecration to the cause. From now on the perfection of the telegraph became his absorbing passion, and the teaching[11] and practice of art merely a means of support. In 1837 he had taken out his first papers at the Patent Office, and had applied for a congressional grant to aid in developing his invention. There were exasperating delays, in which time his European rivals, especially Wheatstone in England, and Steinheil in Bavaria, with substantial aid from their governments, were pressing forward their experiments,

[8] Isham, *History of American Painting*, p. 129.
[9] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. IV, p. 425.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 425.
[11] He was elected Professor of Painting and Sculpture in the University of the City of New York, in 1835.

while he was working almost unaided, and often struggling with real poverty. In 1842, Congress finally voted thirty thousand dollars to advance his work, and in 1844, after unsuccessful experiments with underground wires in leaden pipes, a pole telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore was completed. On May 24 the first formal message, "What hath God wrought,"[12] was transmitted, and two days later public men in Congress were astonished at receiving, before the arrival of trains, information of the doings of the National Democratic Convention in Baltimore. Morse offered his telegraph to the government for one hundred thousand dollars. The offer was declined, although, under private enterprise, lines were soon erected all over the country. These almost all adopted the Morse system. In 1869 the Western Union Company stated that "it is used at the present time upon more than ninety-five per cent of all the telegraph lines in existence."[13] His triumph was the result of unceasing toil in his own experiments, and in fighting persistently the false claims of others, until finally he was able to get a unanimous verdict of the United States Supreme Court, recognizing him as the inventor of the electro-magnetic recording telegraph. It was also his experiments with a cable between Castle Garden and Governor's Island in New York harbor that first established the practicability of submarine telegraphy.

Such is the story, in brief, of the life struggle and achievement of Morse. Fortunately, during his later years, he reaped the rewards of his labor. He lived in comfort and received the homage of the world, conscious of the service he had been permitted to render it. Yale gave him the Doctorate of Laws in 1846. In 1851 he received a gold medal from Prussia. In 1855 the Emperor of Austria sent him the Medal of Science and Art. In the next year, Alexander Humboldt stated that his "philosophic and useful labors have rendered his name illustrious in two worlds," and Spain gave him

[12] *Numbers*, XXIII, 23.
[13] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. IV, p. 427.

the honor of knighthood; while in 1858 Napoleon III called a convention of representatives of European states to decide upon some form of collective testimonial to him, with the result that a vote of four hundred thousand francs was passed. These are merely suggestive of his almost countless honors. Perhaps the most significant was the unusual action of the American Congress in passing these concurrent resolutions:

> Congress has heard with profound regret of the death of Professor Morse, whose distinguished and varied abilities have contributed more than those of any other person to the development and the progress of the practical arts. At the same time his purity of private life, his loftiness of scientific aims, and his resolute faith in truth, render it highly proper that the Representatives and Senators should solemnly testify to his worth and greatness.[14]

Invention was his main field, with art as an important subsidiary interest. He was also a writer of occasional articles, especially on what he believed to be the danger to American institutions from the spread of Roman Catholicism.

He was a man of striking and attractive personality and of fine presence. His character was strong and dignified, his conversation interesting, his mind resourceful. He was the soul of loyalty, always true to his friends, his country, his University, his ideals, and his work. As a result of his genius and of his persistency, he shares with Fulton the honor of being America's greatest inventor. We now take the telegraph for granted as though it had always existed, little realizing that it represents the struggles through many generations of many men, reaching their completion and fruition in Morse's arduous labors.

His paintings are unfortunately his only Yale memorial. This is to be specially regretted as he showed his loyalty to his Alma Mater in many ways, including the giving of ten thousand dollars towards the erection of Edwards Hall in the Divinity School. His biography has been exhaustively presented in *The Life of Samuel F. B. Morse* by Samuel Irenæus Prime. It is understood that another life is in

[14] Quoted from MacCracken, *The Hall of Fame*, p. 198.

course of preparation by the inventor's son, the artist, Edward L. Morse (B.A. 1878).

Paris, 10 Avenue du Roi de Rome
April 12th. 1867.—

My dear Sir,

I have kept this sheet open, till the last moment, in the hope to receive the documents you mention in your letter to Mr. Goodrich, and that I might be able to acknowledge their reception; but as they have not yet arrived, I will not wait, but hasten to give you a copy of the Marquis Moustiers letter so characteristically supposed to be a love letter by the Irish servant girl and so unromantically consigned to the flames.

It is not easy to understand just now the complications in the politics of Europe, and to form a judgment of the prospects of the success of our proposition to the Emperor, but the turn matters have taken at Washington on this subject inspires a hope that it is a more favorable position than when we first introduced it to His Imperial Majesty's notice. We must wait. Nous verrons.

In haste but with respect & esteem
Yr friend & Servt
Saml. F. B. Morse

Dr. E. H. Champlin.

The attached copy of the letter in French from the Marquis Moustier, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1866 to 1868, shows that Morse had proposed that the Emperor call a scientific congress. The Minister states that His Majesty has read with interest "le remarquable Memoire" addressed to him but regrets that he does not think the time opportune for the gathering, owing to the preoccupation of the public in the 1867 Exposition.

This letter was written at the height of his fame. His biographer tells us that during this summer in Paris the French Emperor omitted no opportunity to do him honor, and that at court functions the Morses were placed with the royal family and the diplomatic corps.[15]

[15] Prime, *Life of S. F. B. Morse*, p. 701.

Eli Whitney Blake

Class of 1816

Born, January 27, 1795; Died, August 18, 1886

Inventor of the Stone-Breaker, and Student of Aërodynamics

Few inventions of modern times, that have not been of a sensational character like the telegraph, have done more to advance the cause of civilization than the "Blake Stone-Breaker," now universally used, in one form or another, in highroad and railroad construction. It seems so simple a mechanical device, is so taken for granted as a necessity by engineers, and is manufactured (since the expiration of the patent) under so many different names, that the fame of the inventor has been discounted. Eli Whitney (q.v.) is known to every educated man in the country as the inventor of the cotton-gin, but probably not one in a hundred is aware that his nephew invented a device of almost equal significance, and of much more universal application.

Mr. Blake was born in Westboro, Massachusetts, and was educated at the Leicester Academy. He was supported as an undergraduate by his uncle, after whom he was named, and his course was marked by high scholarship. The opinion of the student community regarding his scientific ability is shown by his selection by the Phi Beta Kappa Society "to deliver a dissertation on some Philosophical subject."[1] The subject which he chose was Saturn's Ring, which he tried to explain by natural causes. The records state that his presentation was very "ingenious." His most intimate college friend was his classmate, Henry Taylor, later judge of the New York Supreme Court. The bond between them was so close that the inventor's son, Henry T. Blake (B.A. 1848), famous in college annals as the founder of the Wooden Spoon Exhibition, was named after him. The "scheme" of exercises for the Junior Exhibition shows

[1] MS. Records Phi Beta Kappa, August 21, 1815, and December 7, 1815.

the father playing Achmet in Percival's *Tragedy of the Captive,* and delivering an oration on "Genius." At Commencement he had an Oration appointment, his subject being "Sensibility." He also took part in a dialogue, "on the Force of Flattery."

After graduation he studied law under Judge Gould (q.v.) at Litchfield, but soon accepted the offer of Eli Whitney, to help him in organizing and equipping his gun factory at Whitneyville. Here he made important mechanical improvements, including a device for polishing gun barrels by a combined spiral and longitudinal motion, which entirely superseded the older methods. After Mr. Whitney's death, Mr. Blake was joined by his two brothers, and Blake Brothers' Westville factory became a center for the display of Yankee ingenuity. Connecticut's reputation, which has continued to this day, of being, in proportion to its population, the home of more inventors than any other state in the Union, received a great stimulus from their work. Door locks, hinges, casters, latches, and other articles of household hardware, were their specialty. Most of these were covered by their patents, and were in use throughout the country.

In 1851, Mr. Blake was appointed by the town of New Haven one of a committee to construct about two miles of macadam road leading out Whalley Avenue to Westville. This apparently unimportant appointment proved the turning point in his career. According to his own sworn statement to the Commissioner of Patents, there were probably at that time not over twelve miles of macadam in all New England, and no way of breaking stone into small fragments was known, except by the slow and laborious use of the hand hammer. He adds: "The importance of a machine to do the work became immediately obvious and from that time for a period of seven years, scarcely a day, or an hour, passed in which my mind was not mainly occupied with the subject."[2] In 1858 the patent was duly issued. Mr. Blake's scientific knowledge was so thorough

[2] From Mr. Henry T. Blake's paper read before the New Haven Colony Historical Society in 1908.

that he was able to calculate and plan exactly every feature on paper. The first model worked perfectly. The essential characteristic of the machine was a pair of massive, upright iron jaws converging downwards, one jaw having a short, powerful, vibratory motion, sufficient to crush trap-rock by the pressure of twenty-seven thousand pounds to the square inch. The opening at the top was large enough to receive the rocks to be broken, whereas the lower opening was so small as to prevent the passage of any stone too large for the required purpose. That, in brief, is the Blake stone-crusher. Like most great inventions, its essential simplicity is noticeable.

The coming on of the Civil War, and other causes, interfered with internal development during the sixties, but when Mr. Blake applied for a renewal of his patent, in 1872, after a decade's use, he estimated that the five hundred and nine machines in the country had saved at least $55,560,000! In his address before the New Haven Colony Historical Society, on the semi-centennial of the stone-crusher, the inventor's son showed that the macadamized roads of the country had increased from fifty to thirty-eight thousand six hundred and twenty-two miles in extent. For this Eli Whitney Blake's invention is to be mainly thanked. Another of its services has been the making possible of the use of stone ballast for railroad tracks, instead of earth; thereby effecting an immense saving in the cost of maintenance both of the road and of its rolling stock, and adding greatly to the comfort of passengers. The linen duster is fortunately no longer an indispensable accompaniment of American railway travel. The "breaker's" use in mining has also increased the production of ores, and effected enormous savings in the cost of operating mines, while the modern employment of concrete has been aided by it.

Like the greatest inventors, he was a thorough man of science. He served as President of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, and contributed papers to Silliman's Journal. Of these the most important were reprinted in a volume entitled *Original*

Solutions of Several Problems in Aërodynamics. One of the earliest of these, "On the Flow of Elastic Fluids through Orifices," pronounced for the first time a theory of some significance. It was believed in England that the distinguished engineer, Robert D. Napier, was the discoverer of the theoretical law involved, but in 1875 he wrote Mr. Blake a letter acknowledging the latter's prior claims:

> In 1866 I published my views about the flow of steam, with the results of experiments, and was not aware, till several years afterwards, that you had published the self-same views more than eighteen years before me. I have no doubt that you, with comparatively few experiments to support you, would find, if possible, more difficulty than I did to convince any one of the truth of your views. I think I may safely say that I should to this date hardly have convinced any one had not Professor Rankin come to my rescue by writing papers in *The Engineer,* in November and December, 1869, and now, through that, I understand that our views are accepted generally in Germany, and among a number of mathematicians of the first class in Britain. I thought you would like to see that at least you were not quite forgotten in the thing.[3]

These theoretical studies showed the brilliancy of his intellectual powers, but it was their successful application to the prosaic and practical problem of breaking stone that should make Blake remembered, especially in the University near which his life was passed, and with whose scientific men he always kept in close touch. His name has not been sufficiently honored, in view of the far-reaching effect of his invention as almost a necessary condition precedent to such enterprises as good roads, transcontinental railways, and the Panama Canal. Fortunately, his Alma Mater was not unappreciative. She conferred upon him, in 1879, the Doctorate of Laws, while his name is perpetuated at the University by the Eli Whitney Blake Stone-Breaker Prize, founded by his son, in 1902. It is "awarded to the author of any treatise deemed worthy of such award on some subject connected with Mining, Civil Engineering or Mechanical Engineering, and preferably with some branch of

[3] Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. I, p. 408. Mr. Blake was also the first, according to Professor Silliman, to propose and support scientifically the theory that violent sounds are more quickly propagated than quiet ones. *Ibid.,* pp. 408, 409.

those pursuits in which the use of broken stone or ores, or machinery connected therewith, is an important feature."[4] The prize, which is given annually, consists of "not less than fifty dollars."

The best account of Mr. Blake's career is given in the papers read by his son before the New Haven Colony Historical Society, in 1908-1909.

New Haven September 3d/68

A Webster Esqr
Dear Sir

Our firm (Blake, Brothers) desires to make a present of a watch of the value of $250 to our agent who is manufacturing our Stone Breakers in England.—I think he will take much pride & satisfaction in showing a good watch of your manufacture in that country.—May I ask you to prepare one and forward it to me with your bill for the same by the 23d. Instant as I have a private opportunity to send it on the 25th.—

Yours truly

Eli W. Blake

This letter is interesting as early evidence of the international use of the stone-breaker. As it is only a letter-book press copy, the original agreement of Blake Brothers with Henry Rowland Marsden, in Eli Whitney Blake's handwriting, is added. Mr. Marsden, who is the English agent referred to in the letter, was a Westville mechanic who became Mayor of Leeds, England.

[4] *Yale University Catalogue* for 1912-1913, p. 359.

III. SUPPLEMENTARY NAMES

Junius Smith (B.A. 1802), Born, 1780; Died, 1853.

Smith was not, strictly speaking, an inventor, but he was the pioneer in the closely related field of trans-Atlantic navigation. After varied successes in law and commerce, he began, in 1832, to devote himself in earnest to the problem of establishing a line of steamers between England and the United States. He was at first considered an impractical dreamer, but after several years of persistent effort he organized the British and American Steam Navigation Company. On April 23, 1838, its "Sirius," the first vessel to go by steam alone across the Atlantic, reached New York, and the next year, on his return to America, he was welcomed with enthusiasm because of what he had accomplished by imagination, enthusiasm, and business ability. The University recognized his public services by giving him, in 1840, the Doctor of Laws degree. A manuscript poem in the Library, written by a classmate, and entitled "The Yaliad," has this to say about Smith:

> What young hero's that, who looks so sage
> And carries dignity beyond his age?
> 'Tis Smith, the Adjutant, than whom no man,
> E'er show'd more brav'ry, since the world began;
> Magnanimous exploits, and prowest deeds,
> Are sure to be atchiev'd when Junius leads.[1]

The letter is an interesting one to his parents, written from London in 1807. He was then trying a case before the British Admiralty Court. He writes about religious conditions in England, and about Napoleon's reverses in Poland.

Alexander Catlin Twining (B.A. 1820), Born, 1801; Died, 1884.

Professor Twining was an inventor and engineer,[2] who showed his versatility by a dialogue at Commencement on "Allston's Theory of Taste," by lecturing on Constitutional Law in the Yale Law School, by filling the professor-

[1] Pearce, "The Yaliad," p. 7.

[2] Among other deceased Yale engineers of prominence were two West Point Professors: Jared Mansfield, LL.D. (B.A. 1777), Surveyor General of the United States, and David Bates Douglass, LL.D. (B.A. 1813).

ship of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Middlebury College, and by being one of the first to establish the cosmical theory of meteors. He should be specially remembered as the inventor of the first practical method of producing ice in large quantities, and economically, by artificial means. His patents were taken out in England in 1850, and in the United States in 1853.

Dr. F. A. P. Barnard (q.v.) concludes a chapter on apparatus for the manufacture of ice, in his *Machinery and Processes of the Industrial Arts and Apparatus of the Exact Sciences* (1869), with these words, which refer to Professor Twining:

> It cannot be too much regretted that an invention of such merit and importance, and of which the soundness and commercial value had been so fully demonstrated both theoretically and experimentally, should, through the apathy or timidity of capitalists, have been permitted to lie neglected in the country in which it originated till foreign enterprise had seized upon it and developed it into a great industry.[3]

His process of evaporating and restoring volatile liquids has been at the foundation of most ice machines since manufactured. He was in charge of the survey of the New Haven railroad from 1835 to 1837, and in this and other positions secured the reputation of being one of the ablest engineers in the country.

The autograph is a letter to his young daughter. "Now is the happy & the glorious time for you to walk in the ways of truth prayer & religion."

Frederick Law Olmsted (Class of 1842-1843, 1845-1846), Born, 1822; Died, 1903.

Olmsted was attracted to Yale by the reputation of Professor Silliman. As his brother (B.A. 1847) was a student in the College, he made warmer friendships, and saw more of undergraduate life, than would have been expected in the case of a laboratory student in the years just prior to the formal organization of the Scientific School. His studies at Yale, practical farm experience, and a pedestrian tour in Europe for the purpose of observing agricultural methods and the art of park and garden planning, gave him the training which made it possible for him to lay the foundations in America for the profession of landscape architecture. In connection with Calvert Vaux, he planned Central Park in New York, his first important work. He was mainly responsible for designing such public parks as Prospect and Washington in Brooklyn, and Washington and Jackson in Chicago, and the

[3] Quoted from Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. I, p. 410.

general park systems of New York, Boston, and Buffalo. He also did much work at the national capitol, and was responsible for the grounds at the World's Fair in Chicago. He is still recognized as having been the foremost American in his field.

A letter is added, written in 1857 to the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, who had asked him to review Weston's *Progress of Slavery*. It was not unnatural that he should be called upon to do this work, as he had just published two volumes of journeys in the Southern states, which were later reproduced in England, under the title of *The Cotton Kingdom*, and attracted much attention. The letter refers to Olmsted's difficulties in carrying through his work in New York: "My time belongs to the Central Park and bad weather next week or the inability to obtain funds to pay laborers may give me leisure that I can not now calculate upon."

Frederic Remington (Class of 1900), Born, 1861; Died, 1909.

Remington did not receive the degree of Bachelor of Fine Arts from Yale until 1900, but his studies in the Art School were carried on from 1878 to 1880. His fine physique gained him membership in the University football team. After professional study in New York, and a brief experience in a village store, he went West, and during his four years as cowboy, ranchman, and scout, gained that intimate familiarity with frontier life which he portrayed so brilliantly. He made his reputation as an illustrator, but he also did work of merit in the fields of painting, sculpture, and literature. He presented to the University one of his characteristic Spanish War scenes, which hangs in the South Gallery of the Art School. An authority on American art thus sums up his contribution:

> . . . . but the authoritative chronicler of the whole western land from Assiniboine to Mexico and of all men and beasts dwelling therein is Frederic Remington. He, at least, cannot be said to have sacrificed truth to grace. The raw, crude light, the burning sand, the pitiless blue sky, surround the lank, sunburned men who ride the rough horses and fight or drink or herd cattle as the case may be. The record is invaluable and the execution is direct and sure.[4]

There have been more representative painters[5] than Remington graduated from Yale, but no artist whose work has been more distinctive or characteristic of the life he depicted.

[4] Isham, *The History of American Painting*, p. 501.

[5] Among recent graduates of the Art School are Bela Pratt (B.F.A. 1899), in sculpture, Samuel Isham (also B.A. 1875), and William Anderson Coffin (also B.A. 1874), in painting. Pratt is specially known to Yale men for his design of the Bicentennial medal, and for his

The autograph is an illustrated letter, written in April, 1896, in a humorous strain, to Julian Ralph, in London. "With police assistance I have at last gotten an address said to be yours. All I want is to inquire after you and how you like London &c. I am plugging away at my game—nothing is happening—we rather hope for a war with Spain. . . . . I have just written my first story for Harpers Magazine.— . . . . Give my Kaind regards to the Prince & believe me Yours Frederic R."

Hale statue. The engraver, William James Linton (Hon. M.A. 1891), although an Englishman by birth, was intimately identified with New Haven, as were also Amos Doolittle, whose early historical engravings often bring fabulous sums at auction sales, and Hezekiah Augur (Hon. M.A. 1833), the sculptor, and inventor of machinery for carving. Daniel Huntington was a member of the Class of 1836, but left at the close of Freshman year, and graduated at Hamilton College.

CHAPTER VII

STATESMEN

I. THE UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO STATESMANSHIP

Yale has been true to the function specified in her charter, to fit "Youth . . . . thorough the blessing of Almighty God . . . . for Publick employment . . . . in . . . . Civil State." Her graduates have always been influential in the public life of the colonies and of the nation. For over a century (since 1792) the Governor and Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut have been members of the Yale Corporation, representatives there of the body politic, and since the substitution in 1871 of Alumni Fellows in place of the six senior state senators, many prominent statesmen have been elected to this highest governing body of the University. In these and other ways, Yale's close connection with public life has been maintained. As evidence of this it may be stated that the Quinquennial Catalogue of 1910 shows sixty-two United States Senators, twenty members of the Cabinet, twenty-eight foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, and forty-seven Governors of states.[1] It would be possible to make up an almost complete federal government from Yale men who, at different times, have held the most important positions. It is perhaps worth while to show what the result would be:

President:	William Howard Taft (B.A. 1878)	Ohio
Vice-President:	John Caldwell Calhoun (B.A. 1804)	South Carolina
Secretary of State:	John Middleton Clayton (B.A. 1815)	Delaware
	William Maxwell Evarts (B.A. 1837)	New York[2]
Secretary of the Treasury:	Oliver Wolcott (B.A. 1778)	Connecticut
	Franklin MacVeagh (B.A. 1862)	Illinois

[1] Cf. the figures for 1860 given in the address of Dr. William B. Sprague (B.A. 1815) on the "Influence of Yale College on American Civilization," reproduced in the *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 10, p. 681: Senators, 41; Cabinet, 10; Ministers, 9; Governors, 27.

[2] Also Vice-President Calhoun. Ashbel Smith (B.A. 1824) was Secretary of the Republic of Texas and its Minister to England and France.

Secretary of War:	Peter Buell Porter (B.A. 1791)	New York[3]
	Alphonso Taft (B.A. 1833)	Ohio
	Henry Lewis Stimson (B.A. 1888)	New York[4]
Secretary of the Interior:	John Willock Noble (B.A. 1851)	Missouri
Secretary of the Navy:	George Edmund Badger (B.A. 1813)	North Carolina
	William Henry Hunt (Class of 1843)	Louisiana
	William Collins Whitney (B.A. 1863)	New York
	Truman Handy Newberry (Ph.B. 1885)	Michigan[5]
Postmaster General:	Return Jonathan Meigs (B.A. 1785)	Ohio
	Gideon Granger (B.A. 1787)	New York
	Francis Granger (B.A. 1811)	New York
	Samuel Dickinson Hubbard (B.A. 1819)	Connecticut
	Wilson Shannon Bissell (B.A. 1869)	New York
Attorney General:	Edwards Pierrepont (B.A. 1837)	New York
	Wayne MacVeagh (B.A. 1853)	Pennsylvania[6]
Secretary of Commerce and Labor:	Victor Howard Metcalf (LL.B. 1876)	California
Supreme Court:	A full bench, see footnote 4 in Introduction to Chapter VIII	
Speaker of the House of Representatives:	Theodore Sedgwick (B.A. 1765)	Massachusetts
Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means:	Ezekiel Bacon (B.A. 1794)	Massachusetts
United States Ambassadors and Ministers to Europe:		
England:	Edwards Pierrepont (B.A. 1837)	New York
France:	Silas Deane (B.A. 1758)	Connecticut
	Joel Barlow (B.A. 1778)	Connecticut
Germany:	Theodore Runyon (B.A. 1842)	New Jersey
	William Walter Phelps (B.A. 1860)	New Jersey
	Andrew Dickson White (B.A. 1853)	New York
Russia:	Ralph Isaacs Ingersoll (B.A. 1808)	Connecticut
	Cassius Marcellus Clay (B.A. 1832)	Kentucky
	Alphonso Taft (B.A. 1833)	Ohio
	Andrew Dickson White (B.A. 1853)	New York
Austria:	Alphonso Taft (B.A. 1833)	Ohio
	Henry Rootes Jackson (B.A. 1839)	Georgia
	William Walter Phelps (B.A. 1860)	New Jersey
Italy:	Wayne MacVeagh (B.A. 1853)	Pennsylvania
Spain:	Stewart Lyndon Woodford (B.A. 1854)	New York
Turkey:	Wayne MacVeagh (B.A. 1853)	Pennsylvania
Roumania, Servia, and Greece:	John Walker Fearn (B.A. 1851)	Illinois
	Eugene Schuyler (B.A. 1859)	New York
	Eben Alexander (B.A. 1873)	North Carolina
Portugal:	David Humphreys (B.A. 1771)	Connecticut
Belgium:	James Osborne Putnam (B.A. 1839)	New York
Netherlands:	Stanford Newel (B.A. 1861)	Minnesota

A complete list would also include ministers to many non-European countries, among them such representative men as Peter Parker (B.A. 1831) of Massachusetts, Commissioner to China, and James Gadsden (B.A. 1806) of South Carolina, Minister to Mexico.

[3] Roger Griswold (B.A. 1780) declined this portfolio in 1801.
[4] Also President Taft and Vice-President Calhoun.
[5] Also Secretary of Commerce Metcalf.
[6] Also Secretary of War Alphonso Taft and Secretary of State Evarts.

These names will give some idea of the prominence of our graduates in the public life of the nation. To summarize: it may be said that if Yale men who have held important offices at different periods were brought together, they would give a President, Vice-President, complete Cabinet, except for the recently established Department of Agriculture, Ambassadors and Ministers to all the great European powers, a full Supreme Bench, a clear majority of the Senate, and nearly a working majority in the House, in addition to enough Governors for every state in the Union.

When we come to consider the greatest single contribution which the University has made to American statesmanship, the answer is not uncertain. It was in connection with the formation of our government. Then Yale played a conspicuous part in determining the form of public measures and the character of political life. The Revolutionary chapter is in many respects the most inspiring one in the University's history. In addition to a patriotic Faculty led by President Stiles, and a steady stream of youth going out into the military field, there was also a notable group of statesmen. The list is headed by twenty-four members of the Continental Congress, four of whom became signers of the Declaration of Independence—Philip Livingston (B.A. 1737), New York; Lewis Morris (B.A. 1746), New York; Oliver Wolcott (B.A. 1747), Connecticut; and Lyman Hall (B.A. 1747), Georgia. Then comes the important service of Pelatiah Webster (B.A. 1746) as a publicist, and that of the four Yale men in the Convention which framed the United States Constitution: William Livingston (B.A. 1741), New Jersey; William Samuel Johnson (B.A. 1744), Connecticut; Jared Ingersoll (B.A. 1766), Pennsylvania; and Abraham Baldwin (B.A. 1772), Georgia. The work of Johnson and Baldwin in the Convention was of large significance, and will be discussed in their biographies, while Livingston, as war Governor of the central state of New Jersey, rendered Washington invaluable help.

Of the three hundred and forty-nine members of the Continental

Congress (1774 to 1788), twenty-nine were graduates of Princeton, twenty-four of Yale, twenty-three of Harvard, twelve of William and Mary, eight of the University of Pennsylvania, four of Columbia, and one each of Brown and Rutgers. Princeton was represented in ten states, Yale in six, Harvard in five, Pennsylvania in three, William and Mary in two, and the others in one each. These statistics, taken from a carefully annotated edition of Lanman's *Dictionary of the United States Congress,* in the author's possession, and duly verified in so far as Yale is concerned, would seem to indicate that in the Revolutionary period, Princeton was the most broadly influential of American colleges politically, with Yale and Harvard close behind. The same compilation shows that of all members of Congress up to 1858, Yale leads with one hundred and twenty members, followed by Princeton with one hundred and thirteen, and Harvard with one hundred and one.

It is noticeable that the graduates of Yale were more conspicuous in statesmanship at the time of national construction than they were in that of reconstruction. The causes for this condition, noticeable at so many colleges, are difficult to explain fully, especially as the University showed its patriotism by sending hundreds of men to preserve the Union, and by furnishing leaders of public opinion in press and on platform, who fought vigorously against slavery.[7] The main reason seems to be that the old-time aristocratic leadership in the political life of New England had declined, while that of the South, with its marked talent for public affairs, was not in a position to render adequate service, owing to the impoverishment of war. The democratic leadership of prominent Eastern university men, like Roosevelt, Taft, Hughes, and Wilson, had not yet come to the front. New Englanders and Southerners of good position, and of inherited

[7] Among these were William Jay (B.A. 1807), Joshua Leavitt (B.A. 1814), Cassius M. Clay (B.A. 1832), Leonard Bacon (B.A. 1820), Horace Bushnell (B.A. 1827), Charles T. Torrey (B.A. 1833), and Charles J. Stillé (B.A. 1839). Samuel Hopkins (B.A. 1741) was one of the earliest anti-slavery leaders in America. Abraham Lincoln delivered a powerful speech on the slavery question in New Haven, March 6, 1860. See Nicolay and Hay, *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln,* Vol. V, pp. 339-371.

taste for statesmanship, were now—with the Western development of the country, and the necessary drawing of an increasingly large number of highly educated youth into commerce and engineering—yielding to a vigorous new type of political leadership, which owed less to culture and to university training. The college man as a political force in America was relatively unimportant in the middle of the nineteenth century. We had outgrown the aristocratic conditions of an earlier generation with its idea of *noblesse oblige,* and had not fully reached the modern conception of democracy. There is a special reason for this decline of the influence of university men in this country in the decades after the Civil War, which coincided with a decline in American statesmanship itself. It is a reason to which too little attention has been given by historians, namely, the effect of the ravages of war in cutting down so much of the flower of the nation's idealism. Young men from our colleges, representing families where culture and capacity for public affairs were inherited, entered the Union Army, and perhaps even proportionately more the Southern Army, by the thousand. Their spirit was dauntless. They were killed, like Winthrop, leading their troops, and as a result the halls of statesmanship were deprived for a generation of many a man who had large ability for public life. It is not that Yale men have shown less talent for forming political opinion in modern times, or that fewer of our graduates of the nineteenth century have entered the arena of politics, but rather that there have been, in proportion to their numbers, fewer conspicuous statesmen among them than among their predecessors, at least in the legislative branch of the government. Unfortunately Yale's greatest single name in public life—Calhoun—was on the side of the past rather than of the future. He and Lee were the noblest representatives of the "Lost Cause," and his masterly presentation of his honest convictions did much to bring the "irrepressible conflict" to a clear and final issue. Unfortunately also the most statesmanlike man whom Yale helped to train for reconstruction, Governor Tilden, just failed of attaining the presidency, and was thus

prevented from rendering that national service for which he was so well fitted.

The later period of American history is identified largely with the careers of men still living, so it does not come within the scope of these volumes. It is not improper, however, to recall the fact that during this period Yale supplied the nation with a President (Taft), a Chief Justice (Waite), and occupants of most Cabinet portfolios, including a Secretary of State (Evarts).

The decline of interest in debating at the University during the last half century, and the transfer, in some measure, of the center of serious undergraduate discussion of public measures from the East to the West, should give food for thought at Yale and other Eastern universities. Intramural and intercollegiate debating are, generally speaking, more potent educational factors in the Mississippi Valley today than they are in New England. Fortunately there are some encouraging signs of a return to earlier and better conditions in this respect. It is hoped that there will sometime be a Union at Yale, built like that at Oxford around debating as a center, and that with this the old keenness for discussing the problems of statesmanship, which Linonia and Brothers did so much to create in an earlier generation, may be revived; for public debate is one of the best schools for political life, as the history of Yale has proven.

II. REPRESENTATIVE BIOGRAPHIES, WITH LETTERS

William Livingston

Class of 1741

Born, November 30, 1723; Died, July 25, 1790

First Governor of New Jersey

Few men in America holding civil positions rendered the country such eminent service at the time of the Revolution as William Livingston. He was the son of Philip Livingston, the second Lord of the Manor, and was born in Albany, New York. He followed the tradition established by his older brothers by preparing for Yale College, where he proved himself a high scholar, graduating at the head of his class.[1] He also stood at the top of the printed class list, owing to the social prominence of his family.[2] His principal instructor was Tutor Whittelsey, an excellent scholar, who "For literature" "was in his day oracular in college," to quote the words of President Stiles' funeral sermon. The good tutor's learning and powers of teaching did not prevent David Brainerd (q.v.) from casting unjust reflections on his piety, which resulted in the future missionary's dismissal from college. Conditions when Livingston was a Freshman seem to have been rather lax. Here is a letter written by a member of the Sophomore class:

> Last night some of the freshmen got six quarts of Rhum and about two payls fool of Sydar and about eight pounds suger and mad it in to Samson, and evited ever Scholer in Colege in to Churtis is Room, and we made such prodigius Rought that we Raised the tutor, and he ordred us all to our one rooms and some went and some taried and they geathered a gain and went up to old father Monsher (?) dore and drumed against the dore and yeled and screamed so that a bodey would have

[1] Sedgwick, *Memoir of the Life of William Livingston*, p. 47. Cf. Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 515.

[2] See Vol. I, pp. 218, 219.

thought that they were killing dodgs there, and all this day they have bien a counsling to geather, and they sent for Woodward and Dyar and Worthenton, Briant and Styles.[3]

But in spite of their fondness for "Samson" and their capacity for "Rought," a word which bears a striking resemblance to the modern undergraduate "rough-house," two-thirds of Livingston's classmates entered the Christian ministry, a record unequaled by any other class of its size—twenty members.[4] This remarkable proportion was doubtless due largely to the work of the English evangelist, George Whitefield, who was in New Haven for several days in the fall of their Senior year, and records in his journal that he "spoke very closely to the students." His visit was followed in the spring by a marked religious awakening when Rev. Gilbert Tennent, another well-known preacher, conducted special services, with the result that, according to Professor Goodrich, "Every one in the college appeared to be under a degree of awakening and conviction."[5] This was all part of "the Great Awakening of 1740," which started under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards (q.v.) at Northampton. Of the direct influence of this movement on Livingston, we have no positive evidence, but that he sympathized with it is evident from the part he played in founding Princeton,[6] and we know that he was always a steadfast Christian. As President Dwight put it after his death: "To his other excellencies, Governor Livingston added that of piety."[7]

When Livingston went up for his Master's degree he upheld the negative of the question, *An Ens rationis expers regiminis moralis sit capax?* Of his devotion to Yale we have several evidences. Near the close of his life, he wrote to a classmate: "Alas, Alas! there is I suppose no probability, considering my time of life, of my ever having it in my power to revisit that darling spot of mine in which I

[3] Quoted from Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 598. The letter was written early in 1738 to a classmate, by Ezra Clap.

[4] All of the members of 1702, '03, '06, '10, '13, '15, '16, and '17 were clergymen, but they aggregated only 21 in number. Six out of nine members of 1714 entered the ministry.

[5] Quoted by Wright, *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale*, p. 20—an interesting account. See Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield*, Vol. I, p. 477.

[6] See under Brainerd.

[7] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 684.

received the first rudiments of my education, and for which I still retain the tenderest affection, New Haven."[8] His sense of pride in being a Yale man was great. When he began work in New York City there were, in the entire province, only six college graduates outside of the clerical profession and in addition to Livingston and his brothers. His degree was a mark of distinction, so it was not unnatural that when he published his *Philosophic Solitude: or the choice of a Rural Life,* he stated on the title page that the author was "a Gentleman educated at Yale College." The work is introduced by some laudatory verses by a classmate ending with this couplet:

> Yalensis smiles the finished piece to view,
> And fondly glories in a son like *YOU*.[9]

The poem, the first contribution to belles lettres by any regular graduate of the College,[10] is valuable as showing Livingston's literary interests, and doubtless reflects largely his undergraduate study and reading. His country home was to be marked by plain living and high thinking. "No costly furniture should grace my hall," but books were to be there in large numbers:

> Virgil, as prince, should wear the laurel'd crown,
> And other bards pay homage to his throne.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> The far-fam'd bards that grac'd Britannia's isle,
> Should next compose the venerable pile,
> Great Milton first, far tow'ring though renown'd,
> Parent of song, and fam'd the world around!

Then come "tuneful Pope," "great Dryden's lofty muse," and "the gentle Watts":

> These for delight. For profit I would read
> The labour'd volumes of the learned dead.
> Sagacious Locke, by Providence design'd
> To exalt, instruct, and rectify the mind.[11]

[8] Sedgwick, *Memoir of the Life of William Livingston,* p. 47.
[9] *Philosophic Solitude,* Boston Edition of 1762, p. viii.
[10] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. II, p. 103. John Hubbard (Hon. M.A. 1730) published *The Benefactors of Yale College* in 1733.
[11] Long extracts from the poem are given in Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature,* Vol. I, pp. 153-155.

Cato, Longinus, Livy, Thucydides, Quintilian, Plato, Demosthenes, Tully, Seneca, Socrates, Raleigh, Derham, and Newton, are the other names which would be represented in his library. The list is noticeable both for its inclusions and omissions. There is no direct reference to Shakespeare, but perhaps there is a concealed thrust at him in the lines on Watts "Who scorns th' applause of the licentious stage." Of course, Milton and Watts appealed to the Puritan mind in a way that Shakespeare could not.

Another indirect evidence of William Livingston's interest in Yale is that, shortly after he received his degree, his father gave President Clap twenty-eight pounds and ten shillings, "to be put out to Interest, and the Interest to be appropriated for the support of a *Professor of Divinity,* or to any other Use the President and Fellows should think to be most for the Advantage of the College."[12] This gift is important from the University's standpoint as it was the first attempt to endow a professorship at Yale. Its personal interest is derived from the fact that the donation was made "as a small acknowledgement of the sence I have for the favour and Education my sons have had there."[13] These were four in number. "The Livingstons, fair Freedom's generous band," to quote the words of Barlow,[14] were all distinguished: Peter Van Brugh Livingston (B.A. 1731), President of the first Provincial Congress of New York, and one of the original Trustees of Princeton College; John Livingston (B.A. 1733), a New York merchant, "distinguished by his philanthropy, probity, and many other virtues"; Philip Livingston (B.A. 1737, q.v.), signer of the Declaration of Independence; and William, the subject of this sketch.

On leaving college he took up the study of law in New York City, making his final preparation in the office of William Smith (q.v.), a most eminent and eloquent lawyer. Livingston was associated with his son, William Smith, Jr. (q.v.), afterwards Chief

[12] Clap, *Annals,* p. 54.
[13] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. II, p. 71.
[14] Barlow, *Vision of Columbus,* Book V, p. 164.

Justice of Canada, in publishing in two volumes the first digest of the laws of the province. This brought him to public attention, as did also his active membership in the provincial assembly. He was considered at this time one of the leaders of the Bar.

It was his services as a pamphleteer, and as an efficient and honorable statesman in high political office, that gave him his main title to the gratitude of his countrymen. The former activity began with *The Independent Reflector,* which was true to its title as far as the political and moral issues of the day were concerned. It was a strenuous opponent of every kind of abuse and corruption. Here is the editor's own vigorous assertion of his principles:

> The Reflector is determined to proceed unawed and alike fearless of the humble scoundrel and the eminent villain. The cause he is engaged in is a glorious cause. 'Tis the cause of truth and liberty: what he intends to oppose is superstition, bigotry, priestcraft, tyranny, servitude, public mismanagement, and dishonesty in office. The things he proposes to teach, are the nature and excellence of our constitution, the inestimable value of liberty, the disastrous effects of bigotry, the shame and horror of bondage, the importance of religion unpolluted and unadulterate with superstitious additions and inventions of priests. He should also rejoice to be instrumental in the improvement of commerce and husbandry. In short, any thing that may be of advantage to the inhabitants of this province, in particular, and mankind in general, may freely demand a place in his paper.[15]

The *Reflector* was followed by a series of anonymous articles with such designations as "The Watchtower," "The Sentinel," and "Hortensius," which appeared in various papers and magazines, and rendered conspicuous service to the colonial cause in New York and New Jersey—a service to be compared with that of Samuel Adams in Massachusetts, in creating a public opinion determined upon

[15] Sedgwick, *Life of William Livingston,* p. 75. The editorship of this sheet places Livingston near the top of the long line of Yale men prominent in journalism. The list includes such well-known names as Jedidiah Morse (B.A. 1783) and Joseph P. Thompson (B.A. 1838) in the religious field; Elihu Hubbard Smith (B.A. 1786), the founder of American medical journalism; Joshua Leavitt (B.A. 1814) and Cassius M. Clay (B.A. 1832) in the strenuous arena of political reform; Nathaniel Parker Willis (B.A. 1827) on the literary side; William C. Woodbridge (B.A. 1811) and Henry Barnard (B.A. 1830) as editors of educational reviews; and George W. Smalley (B.A. 1853) and many others among contemporary American journalists. A little remembered name that deserves a place in this list is that of Enos Bronson (B.A. 1798), who founded and edited for nearly a quarter of a century the influential federal newspaper, *The Gazette of the United States.*

American independence.[16] Livingston was a fighter for every kind of freedom. His speech before the legislature of New Jersey, in 1776, was declared by John Adams to be the most elegant and masterly ever made in America.[17]

The character of his many-sided activity is well brought out in Professor Tyler's summary:

> A positive, aggressive, rugged man, with Scottish fire and Scottish tenacity, a good lover, a good hater, the robustness of his temper streaked with veins of humor, imagination, and tenderness, a considerable student of books, a poet, an orator, an essayist, a satirist, he was noted throughout the last seven years of the Revolutionary period for the gusty vigor with which he governed his little commonwealth, organized, sustained, and spurred on her soldiers, and to the military warfare against the enemy added a most vivacious literary warfare—bombarding them through the newspapers with intermittent showers of shot and shell in the form of arguments, anathemas, jokes and jeers. To have a rough and ready part in that species of warfare, was indeed an old habit and passion of his life; and after many a noisy and smoky word-battle with his antagonists in the later colonial days, it was quite impossible for him to refrain from entering, in a similar manner, into the more deadly disputes of the Revolution.[18]

Livingston's pet aversion, next to English tyranny, was the Episcopal Church. He was a prominent Presbyterian, and shared the opinion of many of his contemporaries that bishops would be dangerous in a democracy. He even opposed the charter of Columbia College because the institution was to have some affiliations with the American ecclesiastical body that represented Anglicanism.

His career as a statesman was even more conspicuous than as a pamphleteer. He served in the first three sessions of the Continental Congress. The only reason that his name is not subscribed to the Declaration of Independence is that on June 5, 1776, he left Congress for Elizabethtown, to take command of the New Jersey militia. That summer he became the first chief executive of the state, a position

[16] Cf. Chapter XXIV in Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution.* It is entitled "Samuel Adams and William Livingston and Their Literary Services to the Revolution."

[17] *Letters of John Adams, Addressed to his Wife,* Vol. I, p. 168. Quoted by Tyler, *Literary History,* Vol. II, p. 17.

[18] Tyler, *Literary History,* Vol. II, pp. 17, 18.

which he held with eminent usefulness until his death, fourteen years later. He was a great war Governor, like Clinton in New York and Trumbull in Connecticut. Washington found him of inestimable service during the years when New Jersey was a center of military operations. After the Revolution Livingston declined the appointment to supervise the erection of the Federal buildings in Washington, and the position of Minister to Holland. He continued as Governor, serving also as one of New Jersey's delegates to the Federal Convention of 1787, which framed the present United States Constitution. It was appropriate, in view of these distinguished and disinterested public services, that he should receive Yale's highest degree—the Doctorate of Laws. This was conferred, in 1788, by the President and Fellows "as a testimony," so runs the letter of Dr. Stiles, "of their high respect for your literary and political merit, and the distinguished honour to which your great abilities and fervent patriotism have elevated you, both in the republic of letters and in political life."[19]

Governor Livingston was a man of large ability, unimpeachable character, and genuine patriotism. He was a true friend of political freedom, and a man whose name deserves to be always remembered as that of one of the Fathers of the Republic. It was characteristic of him that he called his delightful home in New Jersey—one of the most hospitable of colonial mansions, where the British repeatedly tried to capture him—Liberty Hall,[20] and it was consistent with this same idea that he secured, in 1786, an act of the legislature forbidding the importation of slaves, liberating at the same time those in his own possession. One of the most famous and characteristic of his writings was *A New Sermon to an Old Text: Touch not mine anointed,* in which he tried to prove that the people, and not the monarch, were the "anointed"—a radical position to take in 1765![21]

[19] Sedgwick, *Life of William Livingston,* p. 431.

[20] Liberty Hall was famous for its society. One of Livingston's beautiful daughters married John Jay.

[21] See Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature,* Vol. I, p. 152.

This sketch may be fittingly closed with the quaint words of President Stiles, written to Livingston in 1782: "While the present Revolution has made shipwreck of many characters which set out well in life, it gives us pleasure to rejoice in the firmness of your Excellency's character, and the singular glory with which it will transmit itself to all American ages."[22]

His life, with important correspondence, was published by Theodore Sedgwick, Jr. It is entitled *A Memoir of the Life of William Livingston.*

Trenton 26 April 1782

Sir

I find myself honoured with your Excellency's Letter of the 23^{d} instant, containing a request to me from the Council of your State "to order" Capt Robert White lately captured by Capt Hyler, & who has been an atrocious offender in your State, to be transmitted thither & delivered to the Sherif of the City & County of Philadelphia.

Your Excellency & the Council will be pleased to be assured that no exertions of mine shall ever be wanting to aid another State in securing persons who have committed crimes within their jurisdiction, & are afterwards found within ours; and I should think myself particularly happy in this opportunity of giving the clearest demonstration of that disposition by directing the apprehension of White: But as the laws are fully competent to the present exigency, there is no necessity for, (and indeed there may be public offence given by) the interference of the Executive of this State in the matter. All that is requisite is, for your Chief Justice to issue his warrant for apprehending White, & on your Sherif's calling on our Chief Justice with such warrant, & the latter will indorse it; in virtue of which your Sherif may apprehend him in any part of this State.

I did, however, immediately on the receipt of your Excellency's Letter dispatch an Express to Capt Hyler to Brunswick, where I am informed he is, directing him not to send White to the Commissary of Prisoners, (as our Privateers by their instructions are directed to do) but to secure him in the best manner possible; & if he should have been sent before my letter reaches

[22] Sedgwick, *Life of William Livingston*, p. 370.

him, to send for him back again & keep him in the securest manner he can till farther orders—With the greatest Esteem I have the honour to be

your Excellency's
most obedient and
very humble servant

WIL: LIVINGSTON

His Excellency William Moore Esq[r].
President of the Supreme Executive Council
of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania—

This letter gives valuable information regarding the form of procedure in cases of extradition under the "Confederation." The action authorized by Governor Livingston is in accordance with a section of Article IV of the "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States," as signed in Philadelphia in 1778:

If any Person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any state, shall flee from Justice, and be found in any of the united states, he shall upon demand of the Governor or executive power, of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.[23]

[23] Mosher, *Executive Register of the United States,* p. 296.

William Samuel Johnson

Class of 1744

Born, October 7, 1727; Died, November 14, 1819

One of the Framers of the United States Constitution, and President of Columbia College

Few graduates of Yale University have combined a distinguished public career with nobility of character and the highest culture more truly than William Samuel Johnson. He is best known as chairman of the committee which gave final form to our Federal Constitution, but this was only one of several services of almost equal importance which he rendered.

He was the son of Rev. Samuel Johnson (q.v.), one of the most eminent of early New England divines, and inherited from him a strong attachment to the Church of England. The rectory in Stratford, Connecticut, from which town many of the family papers were transferred, in 1911, to the custody of the Yale Library, was his birthplace. Of his college life few facts are preserved. He was an excellent classical student, gaining on this account a Berkeley Scholarship. This gave him the opportunity of a year's postgraduate study, and it is good to know that he always retained his early love for the classics in spite of his busy life. Owing to the strong Episcopalian tendencies of the family, he was granted the privilege, rare in those days, of going "home to church, once in three weeks,"[1] or at least once a month for communion, as there was neither rector nor regular Church of England services in New Haven until a decade later, and even then President Clap refused permission to an undergraduate to act as a lay reader.[2] These difficulties experienced by the relatively few Episcopal students at the College in the early days are amusing from the standpoint of a century and a half later when they at least equal in number their Congregational brethren.

[1] Beardsley, *Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson*, p. 4.
[2] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, p. 566.

An interesting letter written to "Sammy" while a Sophomore, and containing good parental advice, will be found in the sketch of his father. The son was at that time boarding in Commons and lodging with Mrs. Caner, probably the widow of Henry Caner, the builder, who was brought to New Haven in 1717, to erect the first of the college buildings. The Caners were Episcopalians and old friends of the Johnsons.

William Samuel was only seventeen when he delivered the Latin "Cliosophic" Oration at graduation. This was then one of the highest Commencement honors. It is also worth recording that in the list of *Quæstiones pro Modulo Discutiendæ* for 1747, Johnson, who then took his Master's degree, is down to speak on the negative of the subject, *An Hominum Vitia privata publico Emolumento sint?* After continuing his studies for a year at the College, he returned home, serving for a time as a catechist and lay reader, but never taking orders.

He fitted himself for the law, and soon became a prominent figure at the Bar, serving in the Connecticut General Assembly, in the Governor's Council, and for a short time later on the Superior Court. He was also a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, and was mainly responsible for preparing its address to the King. He represented Connecticut in England from 1767 to 1771, as the Colony's special agent in the adjustment of claims to the territory occupied by the Mohegan Indians—an experience which brought him into contact with many representative men, including Dr. Samuel Johnson, who became his frequent correspondent. He tried, at the Corporation's request, to solicit funds for his Alma Mater in the mother country, but in this he was not successful. On his return to America he declined a nomination to the Congress of 1774, and during the Revolution refused to take part in political life, living in retirement at Stratford, as he could not conscientiously join in using force against England. As soon as peace was declared he entered heartily into the constructive work of forming a new and independent

nation. He was in the Continental Congress from 1784 to 1787, and in the latter year was placed at the head of the delegation sent from his state to the Federal Constitutional Convention, where he found good Yale company in the persons of William Livingston (B.A. 1841), of New Jersey, Jared Ingersoll (B.A. 1766), of Pennsylvania, and Abraham Baldwin (B.A. 1772), of Georgia, whose biographies are given elsewhere in this volume. His Connecticut associates were Oliver Ellsworth, for three years a member of the Class of 1766, but a graduate of Princeton, and Roger Sherman, a man without academic training, who became the Treasurer of Yale College. These were the strongest men in the state, and the part they played in determining the form of our government was of large importance.

Johnson's biographer claims that in the Convention "he first proposed the organization of the Senate as a distinct body, in which the state sovereignties should be equally represented and guarded."[3] This was a feature of government well known in Connecticut through the representation of her towns in the Colonial Assembly, and the advocacy of equal representation of the states in the Senate, without interfering with a population basis in the lower house, was largely brought about through the influence of Johnson and his associates. As one competent student of political history has said: "Her [Connecticut's] combination of commonwealth and town rights' had worked so simply and naturally that her delegates were quite prepared to suggest a similar combination of national and state rights as the foundation of the new government."[4]

It was in the debate on the "Virginia Plan" in the Convention that Johnson's influence was most felt. This provided for representation in both houses of Congress in accordance with population or wealth, and was naturally opposed by the smaller states. It was then that he rose to advocate the plan of compromise, which

[3] Beardsley, *Life of Johnson*, p. 127.
[4] Professor Alexander Johnston, *History of Connecticut* (American Commonwealth Series), p. 320.

Connecticut's constitution, going back to the time of Hooker, had made familiar to her citizens. Here are the words he used:

> As the debates have hitherto been managed, they may be spun out to an endless length; and as gentlemen argue on different grounds, they are equally conclusive on the points they advance, but afford no demonstration either way. States are political societies. For whom are we to form a government? for the people of America, or for those societies? Undoubtedly for the latter. They must, therefore, have a voice in the second branch of the general government, if you mean to preserve their existence. The people already compose the first branch. The mixture is proper and necessary. For we cannot form a general government on any other ground.[5]

The Convention's estimate of Johnson's ability is shown by the fact that he was the first member elected by ballot on the important committee "to revise the style of, and arrange the articles agreed to by the House." His colleagues were Alexander Hamilton, Gouverneur Morris, James Madison, and Rufus King. An original copy of the constitution in the State Department contains marginal corrections and interlineations in Johnson's hand, which became part of the Federal Constitution as finally ratified.[6] The historian of the Convention states that "he spoke seldom but very much to the point and was therefore accorded a respectful hearing. . . . ."[7]

His important work as a lawmaker did not stop with giving assistance in forming the basis of an organic union of the states. In 1787 he was elected the first United States Senator from Connecticut. He held the position only two years, but was able to render service in several ways, especially in drawing up the bill for the Federal Judiciary. He resigned when Congress moved from New York to Philadelphia.

Dr. Johnson's career as a statesman was followed by important educational work. He was the first President of Columbia College, as his father had been first President of King's College, from which it developed. King's had suffered severely in the Revolution, so much

[5] Beardsley, *Life of Johnson*, pp. 127, 128.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[7] Farrand, *Framing of the Constitution*, p. 106.

so that there were no graduates for almost a decade following the Declaration of Independence. Dr. Johnson remained President from 1787 to 1800, when he retired to his old home at Stratford. The college, which was recreated under a Board of Regents, in 1784, was very prosperous during his administration. It developed a body of strong teachers, including a Faculty of Arts, composed of the President and seven professors, and a Faculty of "Physic," with a Dean and seven other professors. The President gave instruction in rhetoric and belles lettres, with special reference to the English language, which he spoke with exceptional purity.[8]

It is remarkable that a man of his literary tastes and learning should have published nothing. He is one of the very few graduates whose lives are recorded in this volume who have no bibliography. A copy of Stuart's fine portrait of Dr. Johnson hangs in the University Dining Hall. The original, painted in the scarlet robes of his Oxford Doctor of Laws degree, is the best commentary on his character. Refinement, intelligence, ability, and integrity, are inseparable from his face. There is no portrait belonging to the University whose subject breathes more truly an air of high distinction. He looks every inch the statesman and the Christian gentleman, and he was both, and an orator besides. In public life and in the family circle he was a model of the noblest virtues. Yale honored itself by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, the earliest graduate[9] to receive this distinction from his Alma Mater.

When Dr. Johnson was approaching his ninetieth year, President Dwight paid this tribute to the devotion to country which animated his career:

> His is genuine patriotism, not bounded by the limits of any party or sect; it has survived every possible measure of ambition, and flourishes in his aged breast like the evergreen amidst the snows of ninety winters. Such patriotism may well command our respect, but it still more deserves our imitation.[10]

[8] *A History of Columbia University*, 1754-1904, Book One, Chapter VII.
[9] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 764.
[10] Beardsley, *Life of Johnson*, p. 167.

The *Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson, LL.D., First Senator in Congress from Connecticut, and President of Columbia College, New York,* by Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., LL.D., is a reliable biography.

New York 30th May 1787.

My Dear Son

I have only a Moments time to Acknowledge the rec't of y^r^. favour of the 6th inst^t^. & to bless God for y^r^. health & prosperity. I arrived here last evening from Stratford where thank God I left the Family all well, including Betsey & her Son who are there upon a Visit. I go on tomorrow morning to Philadelphia where Delegates are assembling from all the States in the Union, except Rhode Island, in a special Convention for the purpose of reforming & strengthening our federal Government. An arduous Work. Gen^l^. Washington Presides, & my Colleagues from Connecticut are M^r^. Shearman & M^r^. Elsworth. It is an affair of high & agitated expectation throughout the continent, but what will be the Issue of it no Man can yet foresee. I am so press'd in point of time that I must leave everything else to Maj^r^. Alden who says he will write you particularly, & recommending you to the blessing & protection of Almighty God, I remain with the kindest Love, & complim^ts^ to all Freinds

Y^r^ most affectionate
Father & Friend
W^M^. Sam^L^. Johnson

[Addressed on back to]
Samuel W^m^. Johnson Esq^r^.
Bermuda

This letter is of value as showing the contemporary opinion regarding the character and importance of the work to be undertaken by the Constitutional Convention of 1787. It was written by Doctor Johnson May 30 on his way to Philadelphia as one of the three delegates from Connecticut. The Convention had been called for May 14, but so few delegates had arrived that it was impossible to begin until May 25, when a majority of the states was for the first time represented. Johnson, therefore, did not take his seat in Independence Hall until the Convention had been fully organized and had begun to consider the Virginia Plan. However, in spite of his tardy arrival, he soon took a position of influence among the delegates because of his high character and learning.

Pelatiah Webster

Class of 1746

Born, November 24, 1726; Died, September 10, 1795

Publicist

The life and influence of Pelatiah Webster represent a field of interesting research for the historical scholar. That he was one of the ablest economists and students of government of his time is generally conceded, but the degree of his actual influence is a matter of controversy. It may at least be said with confidence that he anticipated in an extraordinary way many of the features of the great Federal Constitution of 1787.

He was born in Lebanon, Connecticut. That he was a respectable scholar as an undergraduate is shown by his receiving and accepting, a few years after graduation, a call to a position to teach English, and later Latin, in the Germantown Academy. His class, with only twelve graduates, numbered four men who rendered service of national importance in the years beginning with 1776: Webster, President Stiles (q.v.), Lewis Morris (q.v.), one of the "Signers," and John Morin Scott, of the Continental Congress. We may well believe that their independence of thought and action dated back to the years at Yale. There are several references in Stiles' diary to visits from Webster in New Haven, while letters from the latter to the future President, both during and after college days, give evidence of the intimate friendship which they formed as undergraduates. The correspondence is partly in Latin, and deals with all sorts of subjects—theology, astronomy, law, and, at least on Webster's part, love. At the close of Sophomore year Webster was taken ill. The following hitherto unpublished letter explains his condition, and gives a picture of several features of the college life of the time:

Leb^{n} Augst 27th AD 1744

S^{r}

My Classmate

by these I would inform you y^{t} I am not at Present better, upon the account of my Sickness, y^{t} is the cause is noway Revemov^{d} as I Perceive, but do think it probable y^{t} I shall have some Durable Sickness,—and I would desire you to send me my Greek Testament if you can find it, for (if you Remember) I could not find it when I came away.—Give my bottle y^{t} had Rhum in it to ye Butler, for I Borrowed it of him, Return an Tully's Orations, w^{ch} is in my chest to Pitkin,—and take Good Care of my other things, as I Desir^{d} before, & in so doing you will much oblige your Friend and Clasmate,

PELATIAH WEBSTER JN^{R}

Collg^{ii} ya ^{sis} Heres[1]

The Stiles Correspondence has several other letters of Webster. Some of these bear evidence of the latter's affectionate interest in his classmates, and of his fond memories of undergraduate days. Webster writes the year after graduation: "the many Acts & Intercourses of mutual friendship Between us & our three Brothers, like that of Davids & Jonathans seems never to have been equall^{d}. by the nymphs and Swains." He refers to "the happy times and Golden Seasons, in w^{c} our Friendship was in its bloom," and concludes "I am S^{r}. y^{r}. Loving classmate Member of the P-C-C President of the 3 astrolg^{rs} & y^{r}. Devoted Fri'^{d}."[2]

We wish that we might know more about these student clubs of the time, but we do not. The three "astrologers" were Stiles, Webster, and, probably, Rev. John McKinstry (B.A. 1746). In 1749 Webster writes the first named to get him a wig to appear in at Commencement, when he comes up for his Master's degree, and in 1753, in another letter, he says, "I long to see you & receive some help from your Large Improvements at the seat of ye Muses since I left it."

Near the close of his Junior year, in May, 1745, President Clap secured the adoption by the Connecticut Assembly of a new charter for "The President and Fellows of Yale College in New Haven," confirming the act of 1701 "for the founding, suitably endowing &

[1] Stiles, MS. Letters, V, p. 55.
[2] Letter of May 14, 1747, Stiles, MS. Letters, Vol. V, pp. 60-66.

ordering a Collegiate School," giving the institution exemption from taxation within certain limits, increasing the prestige of the President, and broadening the powers of the Corporation so as to meet the needs of an institution which had assumed a collegiate standing. This was, from the standpoint of Yale College, the most important event during Webster's undergraduate course. As every student was directly affected by the new laws which were put into force under this charter,[3] and as constitutional questions interested Webster deeply in later life, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Clap's great achievement had a special interest for him. The new charter was in keeping with his own constitutional convictions in providing for a strong central government.

Having duly received his Bachelor of Arts degree, he studied theology, and preached for a few years in the small parish of Greenwich, Massachusetts. Then, because of his private affairs, which made it "more a matter of necessity than inclination," he entered a lucrative business in Philadelphia, where for a few years he also did some teaching. During the Revolutionary War he was an active Whig. While taking a cargo to Boston on one of his own vessels he was "captivated with 600 Bl. of flour"[4] and iron, and put in prison by the British, who caused him the loss of property valued at two thousand pounds. Again, in 1778, General Howe, realizing his influence as an American patriot, imprisoned him for four months in the Philadelphia jail.

Of his habits of mind as a student at Yale and during the years immediately following, we have this autobiographic reference:

> The first thirty years of my life were spent in the *literary way*, and generally employed in a course of hard study, and close attention to some subject or other; after which, by a turn in my private affairs, I went into a course of *mercantile business*, which was indeed more a matter of necessity than inclination. My old habits of reading and thinking could not easily be shaken off, and I was scarce ever without either a book or some subject of discussion ready prepared, to which I could resort, the moment I found myself at leisure from other business.

[3] See under Wolcott (Sr.).
[4] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 158.

My usual method of discussing any subjects which I undertook to examine, was, as far as possible, to find out and define the *original, natural principles* of them, and to suffer my mind to be drawn on without *bias or any incidental prejudice,* to such conclusions as those original principles would naturally *lead to* and *demonstrate,* i. e. I endeavoured, as far as I could, to make myself *my own original,* and draw all my knowledge from the *original and natural sources* or *first principles* of it.[5]

Such were the mental traits and habits which led Webster to accomplish his greatest work, which was done as a pamphleteer and essayist, in the broad field of political science as applied to the problem of an independent American government. This began, in 1776, with an essay in a Pennsylvania paper "on the Danger of too much circulating Cash," reached its climax in *A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States* . . . . (1783), and closed, in 1791, with a volume of important collected articles, entitled *Political Essays on the Nature and Operation of Money, Public Finances and Other Subjects.* All but two of his twenty-seven separate publications originally appeared anonymously over the signature of "A Citizen of Philadelphia." This fact accounts, in a measure, for the relatively slight personal recognition which his work received during his life-time, although it is the tradition that members of Congress were in the habit of consulting him freely about public matters.[6]

The strongest statement of Webster's claim to recognition as one of the factors in devising the present system of American government, is given by Hon. Hannis Taylor in *The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution.* Here is a quotation:

In February, 1783, Pelatiah Webster published at Philadelphia a tract entitled "A Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the thirteen United States of North America," in which he not only advocated permanent courts of law and equity, and a stricter organization of the executive power, but also a national assembly of two chambers instead of one, with power not only to enact laws, *but to enforce them on individuals as well as on states.*[7] A year later this tract, which

[5] From Author's Preface to *Political Essays.*

[6] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. II, p. 102. Cf. the references to him in 1787 in the recently published fragments of the journal of Noah Webster (q.v.). The lexicographer talked politics with him and was impressed by Pelatiah Webster's ability, recording the fact that he had "a long head." Ford, *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster,* Vol. I, p. 208.

[7] See Pelatiah Webster, *Political Essays,* p. 228.

had been reprinted at Hartford, was followed by another of the same tenor by Noah Webster, of that place, in which he proposed "a new system of government which should act, *not on the states, but directly on individuals, and vest in congress full power to carry its laws into effect.*[8] This brand-new idea which the Websters seem to have been the first to express,—the idea of giving to the federal government the power to execute its laws not on states in their corporate capacity, but directly on individuals,—embodied the most important and far-reaching political principle to which our career as a nation has given birth.[9]

Doubtless the writings of Pelatiah Webster had been influential in directing the public mind to the weakness of the Confederation, and to the need of a stronger form of government, but Dr. Taylor here and in other places, such as where he calls him "the original designer, or architect, of the present Constitution of the United States," makes too great claims for his hero as a direct influence on the Convention. The fact is that similar constitutional ideas were coming to consciousness about the same time in many minds, but they were expressed nowhere more clearly or forcibly, or with a sounder economic basis, than in the writings of the subject of this sketch. In this connection, Webster should be specially remembered for his proposal, in 1783, to establish a "Council of State" to assist the President. The leading authority on the history of the American Cabinet states that he thus "hit upon the clearest prototype that probably can be discovered for the later Cabinet Council."[10] His own opinion of the influence of his writings, and more especially of his *Dissertation on the Political Union and Constitution of the Thirteen United States of North America,* is given in a later publication:

At the time when this Dissertation was written (Feb. 16, 1783) the defects and insufficiency of the Old Federal Constitution were universally felt and acknowledged; it was manifest, not only that the internal police, justice, security, and peace of the States could never be preserved under it, but the finances and public credit would necessarily become so embarrassed, precarious, and void of support, that no public movement, which depended on the revenue, could be managed with any effectual certainty: but tho' the public mind was under full conviction of all these mischiefs, and was contemplating a remedy, yet the public ideas were not at all

[8] See Noah Webster, *Sketches of American Policy,* pp. 32-38.
[9] Taylor, *Origin and Growth of the English Constitution,* Part I, p. 65.
[10] Learned, *The President's Cabinet,* pp. 62, 63.

concentrated, much less arranged into any new system or form of government, which would obviate these evils. Under these circumstances I offered this Dissertation to the public: how far the principles of it were adopted or rejected in the New Constitution, which was four years afterwards (Sep. 17, 1787) formed by the General Convention, and since ratified by all the States, is obvious to every one.[11]

Students of the late Professor Sumner will remember the high estimate in which he held Webster as an economist and publicist. He felt that he deserved special credit for publicly advocating the appointment, as early as 1780, and even before Alexander Hamilton, of a "Financier General,"[12] who should have charge of public finances, in place of the committee under the Confederation.[13]

Pelatiah Webster, the Congregational minister who became an eminent publicist, is a most interesting figure, about whom we would like to know more. We have no portrait of him, no biography. President Stiles, who frequently refers to his interesting conversations with him, calls him "the Literary Character as well as Merchant,"[14] and was doubtless pleased when he sent to the Yale Library a copy of his *Political Essays,* with an autograph inscription from the author giving a personal touch to the volume. This and some of his letters to Ezra Stiles are among the few existing reminders of his Yale connection. His grandson, Pelatiah Perit (B.A. 1802), who was President of the Chamber of Commerce of New York, inherited his interest in public questions, and left to the University a bequest, commemorated in a professorship of Political and Social Science.

Leb^{n}. May 14, 1747

Kind Sir,

After my Great Respects to you, and all my Friends at New Haven I inform you that I am well, and have this Day with the utmost Joy and Greif, Rec^{d}. your Letter Dated may 6—for w^{c}. and the many other tokens of disinterested Friendship I have Rec^{d}. from you, I must for Ever ly under Infinite obligations to y^{o}.—I must confess a Seperation from my Friends of y^{r}. worth

[11] Pelatiah Webster, *Political Essays,* p. 228, footnote.

[12] See development of Webster's ideas in *A Dissertation on the Nature, Authority, and Office of a Financier General, or Superintendent of the Finances,* 1781.

[13] Cf. Sumner, *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution,* Vol. I, p. 260.

[14] Stiles, *Diary,* Vol III, p. 46.

and Good nature is a Torment next akin to having none or Living an hermit amongst mankind—the many acts & Intercourses of mutual friendship Between us & our three Brothers, Like that of David,s & Jonathan,s Seems never to have been Equall^{d}. by the nymphs and Swains.—

A Pleasing Remembrance of the happy times and Golden Seasons, in w^{c}. our Friendship was in its bloom, only gives rise to an agreable tho' Fruitless Imagination or Fond wishes of Pleasures to come, Pleasures I say nunq^{m}. Revoc. and ae^{e}. indeed. for a Repetition of Such none but a Relative of ye Gods may ever Expect to receive—

But the Remains of w^{c}. the long time of our Seperation Seems not to have putt out of y^{r}. mind and w^{c}. an Eternity will never cause me to forget may Indeed be nourish^{d}. by y^{r}. agreable & pleasing method, I mean by kind Letters, but one of w^{c}. Since commencement I have Rec^{d}. from y^{o}. I never till very lately knew where to Subscribe to you, if I had I w^{d}. have writ to you, my negligence in Enquiry you must pardon—

—the last I heard from our Dear Friend S^{r}. McKinstry he was keeping School at Wooster.—I cannot be at Election at Hartford, for I must attend a Splendid wedding on that Day at colchester.—I now live at my Father,s attended with all the Melancholy y^{t}. a mournful Solitude or rather desolation is incident unto. never cou^{d}. a meeting of Friends be more agreable than a visit from you w^{d}. now be, & I have a thousand things to communicate to y^{o}. but time and Paper fails me, the most important are some new Discoveries Dilectissima arte nostra Astrologiae Paucas Quas nuper Recepi, Paucas, ab Femina peritissima Quando, apud Branford commoratus Sum Autumno Superiore, et ore, et Libris Suis Dididici, Quas omnes summa Industria memoriae tradidi & voluntate Liberrima tibi communicarem Si ex ore potui—at—non sic volvere parcae—Oh mihi Preteritos Referat si Jupt^{r}. annos Oh unam preteritam, Referat Si Jupt^{r}. horam at—Sic non volvere parcae—

S^{r}. if you can Get me a Good School Down near new Haven or Att new haven if M^{r}. Mansfield leaves the School there I w^{d}. accept it very kindly of you. pray write to me the first oppurtunity & every oppurtunity. I could never be weary neither of y^{r}. conversation or letters—but I must conclude. Give my Service to S^{r}. Alling, Mills, Talmage, &c and to my Landlord Cook and all his family & every body else that I Love, know w^{o}. them be.—I am S^{r}. y^{r}. Loving classmate member of the P—C—C President of the 3 astrolg^{rs} & y^{r}. Devoted Fri^{d}.

PELTH. WEBSTER JR.

[Addressed on back to]
M^{r}. Ezra Stiles A.B.
New Haven

This letter has been loaned to the collection in Memorial Hall by the kindness of the University Library Committee. It forms a part of the Stiles Papers and has been quoted in the biography above. It was written by Webster a year after graduation, from his family home in Lebanon, where he was studying theology, presumably with the local pastor. The introduction of Latin sentences is not unusual, as the revised laws published only two years before provided "That Every Student of this College Shall in his ordinary Discourse Speak in the Latin Tongue. . . ." Webster's habit of placing the apostrophe at the bottom of the line is noticeable.

Oliver Wolcott

Class of 1747

Born, November 20, 1726; Died, December 1, 1797

Signer of the Declaration of Independence

Of the four graduates[1] of Yale who signed the Declaration of Independence, Wolcott was the most representative. He was not a brilliant man or a great leader, but it would be difficult to find a better example of consistently high and loyal citizenship. It is a sign of the inherited family tradition, and a suggestive prophecy of his future independence, that his father, who was Governor of Connecticut, named him after Oliver Cromwell. He was born in Windsor, Connecticut, the fourteenth child in a characteristically large New England family, of which two sons had already graduated from the University. His entrance examinations, and his course of collegiate study, were thus formulated by President Clap, in 1745:

> That none may Expect to be admitted into this College unless upon examination of the President and Tutors, They shall be found able Extempore to Read, Construe and Parce Tully, Virgil and the Greek Testament: and to write True Latin in Prose and to understand the Rules of Prosodia, and Common Arithmetic, and shall bring Sufficient Testamony of his Blameless and in offensive Life.[2]
>
> In the first Year They Shall principally Study the Tongues & Logic, and Shall in Some measure pursue the Study of the Tongues the Two next Years. In the Second Year They Shall Recite Rhetoric, Geometry and Geography. In the Third Year Natural Philosophy, Astronomy and Other Parts of the Mathematicks. In the Fourth Year Metaphysics and Ethics. In addition every Saturday Shall Especially be allotcd to the Study of Divinity. . . . . and on Friday Each Undergraduate in his Order about Six at a Time Shall Declaim in the Hall in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew. . . . .[3]

The new college laws were put into force when Wolcott was a Sophomore. They are so numerous and detailed that it is hard to

[1] Philip Livingston (B.A. 1737), Lewis Morris (B.A. 1746), and Lyman Hall (B.A. 1747) were the others. See their biographies under Supplementary Names at close of this chapter.

[2] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, p. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 5.

see how they could all have been strictly carried out, but President Clap, during the first part of his administration, was an excellent disciplinarian. The laws fill sixteen closely printed pages in Dexter.[4] They are full of regulations that have a quaint sound to a later generation. Here are extracts:

That Every Freshman Shall be Obliged to Go any reasonable and proper and reasonable Errand when he is Sent by any Student in any Superior Class. . . . .

If any Scholar Shall make an assault upon the Person of y^e^ President or either of the Tutors or Shall wound, Bruise or Strike any of Them, He Shall forthwith be Expelled.

That the Butler Shall have Liberty to Sell Cyder, Strong-Bear, Loaf Sugar, Pipes & Tobacco and Such Necessaries for the Scholars, not Sold by the Steward at the Kitchen. . . . .

If any Scholar shall be Guilty of Profane Swearing, Cursing, Vowing, any Petty or Implicit Oath, Profane or Irreverent Use of the Names, Attributes, Ordinances or Word of God; Disobedient or Contumacious or Refractory Carriage towards his Superiours, Fighting, Striking, Quarrelling, Challenging, Turbulent Words or Behaviour, Drunkenness, Uncleaness, Lacivious Words or Actions, wearing woman's Aparrel, Defrauding, Injustice, Idleness, Lying, Defamation, Tale bareing or any other Such like Immoralities, He Shall be punished by Fine, Confession, Admonition or Expulsion, as the Nature and Circumstances of the Case may Require.

This regulation is apparently an attempt to improve on St. Paul's catalogues of sins in the first chapter of Romans and in the fifth of Galatians! But the section of the rules which will be read with the greatest interest by graduates and students today is that which refers to the still existing college custom of the Seniors bowing to the President in Chapel. Here is the law drawn up by Clap to assure the showing of proper respect to the President:

And particularly all Undergraduates Shall be uncovered in the College Yard when the President or either of the Fellows or Tutors are there: and when They are in their Sight and View in any other Place: and all the Bacchelors of Arts Shall be uncovered in the College Yard when the President is there; and all the Scholars shall bow when he Goes in or out of the College Hall, or into the Meeting-House, provided that the Public Worship is not Begun. And Scholars Shall Shew due Respect and Distance to those who are in Senior and Superiour Classes.[5]

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 2-18.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 4, 5.

It is interesting to note that as far as the Senior chapel bowing is concerned, what was originally enforced as a mark of submission and respect, has now become a cherished privilege.

Of the Signer's personal career in college few facts have survived, but a letter that he wrote forty years later to one of his sons who was an undergraduate, reflects his own ideals for a Yale student. It would be well if fathers today would give their sons equally good advice:

> Attend properly to your Health, which I think you may do, and yet be the best Scholar in your Class. This Character I shall expect you will support, and that your literary Improvement will be of the best kind. The great Obligations of Virtue and Religion you will never forget, as an Observance of them is necessary for your present and future Happiness.[6]

When he took his Master's degree, he supported the affirmative of *An Joab pro Trucidatione Absalomi sit damnandus.*

On leaving college he secured a commission as Captain from Governor Clinton, and marched to help defend the Northern frontier. This was the beginning of a long career devoted almost entirely to public service. After peace with the French had been declared, in 1748, he occupied himself with medicine for a couple of years, until he was appointed the first sheriff of Litchfield County. Then he removed to the county seat, which was henceforth his home. He held this position for twenty years, combining with it membership in four sessions of the General Assembly. Later he served in the Governor's Council, and as Judge of Probate and Judge of the County Court. He was not the man to electioneer for office, although glad to serve the public whenever a useful opportunity offered.

It was as a patriotic citizen and statesman at the time of the Revolution that he did work of such importance as to raise his citizenship to a level worthy of permanent commemoration. During the series of events which led up to the final break with England, he was a consistent advocate of the cause of the colonies. A good example of his spirit is the well-attested story of the carrying off by night, to his Connecticut home, of the equestrian statue of King George III.

[6] *Memorial of Henry Wolcott,* p. 321.

This had been erected on Bowling Green in New York City, and had been pulled down by indignant citizens in the summer of 1776. It was made of lead and gilded. Safe in the Litchfield Hills it was melted down by Wolcott's family and friends, and was cast into 42,088 cartridges.[7]

He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1775 to 1783, except for a two-year interval when he was largely occupied with military affairs. Of his services in Congress one of the Yale poets of the period, Joel Barlow (q.v.), makes reference in his *Vision of Columbus:*

> Bold Wolcott urg'd the all-important cause;
> With steady hand the solemn scene he draws—
> Undaunted firmness with his wisdom join'd,
> Nor Kings nor Worlds could warp his steadfast mind.[8]

It was with this spirit that he affixed his signature to the Declaration of Independence. Soon after this event he was appointed a Brigadier General of state troops, and was in New York at the time of the British attack. He was also effective in bringing General Gates much-needed reinforcements a year later, at the head of three hundred mounted volunteers, which arrived at the American camp ten days before Burgoyne's surrender, and in keeping a careful watch on the enemy's attempted movements against Connecticut. So his patriotic services were rendered in the field as well as in the council chamber. He was not the kind to advocate fighting for freedom unless willing to draw his own sword in its behalf. His strong, sincere character, earnest efforts, and complete confidence in the ultimate triumph of their cause constituted an important asset for the colonies. Here is a characteristic letter written to his wife at a critical period (May 4, 1776):

> In such tempestuous Times no one can say what the events of things may be, tho' I have no apprehension that Great Britain can subjugate this country; to give us much trouble is doubtless in her power, and a people engaged in war must not

[7] Woodruff, *History of the Town of Litchfield,* p. 46.
[8] Barlow, *Vision of Columbus,* Book V, lines 335-338.

always expect prosperity in all their undertakings. God has indeed in a wonderful manner hitherto granted us his protection, and I hope he will still continue it. Possess your own mind in peace. Fortitude not only enables us to bear evils, but prevents oftentimes those which would otherwise befal us.[9]

It is interesting to know that such a sturdy champion of using force against England was in many respects a great pacificator. The Continental Congress twice appointed him on commissions to negotiate what were in reality treaties of peace with the Iroquois and the Six Nations, and it was largely due to his efforts that two threatening internal disputes were settled—that between Connecticut and Pennsylvania, known as the Wyoming Controversy, and that between the Vermont settlers and New York State.[10] At the close of the war he was naturally called to high civil posts in his native state, finishing his long public career by ten years as Lieutenant Governor, and two terms as Governor. He was the second Yale graduate to be elected to this position in Connecticut,[11] but with him began a new tradition in the office, twenty-one out of the forty-two men who have since held this position having received their education at the College.[12]

President Dwight said of Governor Wolcott that he "was remarkably distinguished for intrepidity, firmness, incorruptible integrity, strong, bold conceptions, and a peculiar decision of character. At the same time his sensibility was quick and exquisite. The sight, or even the narration, of a mean, dishonest, or an ungenerous action, appeared to give him a chill, and changed his countenance."[13] He always maintained his interest in the University, and in the ideals for which it stood. Throughout a busy life he was in the habit of continuing to read the classics of history, literature, and science. His services to Connecticut and to the united colonies, his high character and intellectual tastes, all united to make most worthily bestowed the degree of Doctor of Laws, which he received

[9] Quoted from *Wolcott Memorial,* by Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution,* p. 57.
[10] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. VI, p. 587.
[11] Thomas Fitch (B.A. 1721) was the first, 1754-1760.
[12] See Table of Governors in Norton, *Governors of Connecticut.*
[13] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. II, p. 138.

from Yale a few years prior to his death. Other Revolutionary leaders were more conspicuous in the public eye, but none exemplified more truly than he the consecration of ability and character to the cause of freedom and of good citizenship. *Noblesse Oblige!*

Janry
1763.

Thomas Seymour Esq
To Oliver Wolcott Dr.

To serving a Writ in favour of Jonathan Butler of Hartford on John McAlpine of Goshen	£0,	9,	10
To Do. Asa Merrills vs sd. McAlpine	0,	9,	10
To Do. Jacob Brandagee vs Jabez Bacon of Woodbury . .	0,	12,	4
To a Return of a non est invent on Execution Saml. Cole of Farmington vs Thomas Tuttle	0,	16,	0
To Do. on Exn. in your favr. vs John Barret of Woodbury .	0,	11,	0
	£2,	19	0

This bill, which is entirely in Wolcott's handwriting, and is duly endorsed by him on the back, is of interest as showing the legal charges and forms of the period. It was rendered when he was a practicing lawyer of Litchfield, to Thomas Seymour of Hartford. This was probably the graduate of this name (B.A. 1724).

Silas Deane

Class of 1758

Born, December 24, 1737; Died, September 23, 1789

American Ambassador to France

The case of Silas Deane is somewhat complicated. The uncertainty that has existed regarding his integrity and patriotism during the last years of his life, has, unfortunately, tended to cloud the services which he rendered to the American colonies at the time of the Revolution. The latter were well-nigh indispensable to its success.

He was born in Groton, Connecticut, where his father was a blacksmith. He was the first student whose biography is given in this work to live in Connecticut Hall, which was nearly finished when he entered college in the autumn of 1754. The accommodations, like those of every new building at Yale, were at first considered luxurious, and consequently the room rent determined upon by the Corporation was fourteen pence sterling per quarter, as contrasted with only ninepence in the Old College.[1] Every care was taken to protect this fine new dormitory from injury. The Faculty—not the Corporation—but the President and tutors, who were beginning to play a large part in the administration of the College, passed the following vote in Deane's Freshman year:

> Special Care shall be taken that no Dammage be done to the new College by Cutting the Windows, Doors, Tables, or Carrying away the Tables. And that the Scholar of the House shall once in a Quarter View every Chamber and see what Dammage is done, and Inform the President. . . . .
>
> No locks shall be taken off from any Door, but the Successors shall buy them, and no Tables to be carried out of any Room.[2]

[1] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, p. 355.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 355. The reference to selling the locks of doors in college buildings gives unexpected sanction to the remunerative business carried on by members of the Class of 1895, who first occupied Vanderbilt Hall. They sold to unsuspecting underclassmen the andirons and window-seats which had been part of the donor's original equipment of the building!

In Deane's Sophomore year the same body took under consideration the old question of the proper subordination of Freshmen—the germ of modern hazing—and gravely passed this vote:

It is ordered that the Sophimores in teaching the Freshmen the Rules of good Manners & reproving them for any Misdemeanors shall not speak so loud as to be plainly heard in any adjoining Room, nor use any harsh insulting or opprobious Language, nor Stamp at them, nor speak more than one at a Time, nor use any tyrannical Measures, but shall speak to them with Decency & Gravity, and ordinarily sitting down.[3]

That Deane's class needed instruction in "good Manners"—at least in the eyes of the college authorities—is shown by the following vote passed for its special benefit:

Ordered that if any Freshman should be any way accessary to the fireing the great Guns att the Commenement their Freshmanship shall be continued one Quarter of a Year longer and during that Time they shall be oblidged to go on Errands and not have Liberty to send a Freshman on any Errands nor to wear a Gown, and such other Accademical Punishments shall be inflicted as the Authority of College shall find necessary for the suppressing of the Crime.

And whereas the firing of the great Guns and Squibs and Crackers and other great Disorders have sometimes attended the Elumination of the College on the Evening before the Commenement, it is ordered that if any of the aforesaid Disorders shall continue, the Elumination shall be wholly suppressed and that what Charge shall be found necessary to prevent the Bells being rung at any Time contrary to Law shall be paid by all the Undergraduate Students.[4]

Deane was one of the participants in a students' play acted on several evenings in January of his Sophomore year, at the house of a State Street tavern-keeper. The Faculty record of this incident is as follows:

Att a Meeting of the President & Tutors Jan. 16. 1756 Whereas it appears that a Play was acted att the House of Wm. Lion, the Evenings after the 2, 6, 7 & 8th. Days of January instant, and that all the students of this College excepting some Few were present att One or Other of those Times in which the sd Play was

[3] MS. Judgments & Acts of the President & Tutors, June 18, 1756; No. 1, p. 53.

[4] MS. Records Yale Corporation, September 10, 1755. Compare with this the following from the same records five years later—September 10, 1760: "Whereas it appears that most of the late Freshmen Class on the Evening before the Commencement Day walked together in the College Yard with Clubs or Staves, and one of them walked before and brandished a naked Sword, and that they all or most of them made a violent and scandalous Noise by jointly beating and striking on the College Fence. It is ordered by this Board that each of the sd. Class who were then present, shall be deprived of the Privilege of Sending Freshmen on any Errand for the space of fourteen Days from their first coming to College, after the End of the next Vacation."

acted, and many of them continued there, till after nine of the Clock and had a large Quantity of Wine, & sundry People of the Town were also present. And whereas this Practise is of a very pernicious Nature, tending to corrupt the Morals of this Seminary of Religion & Learning, & of Mankind in general, & to the Mispense of precious Time & Money.

It is thereupon consider'd by the President with Advice of the Tutors that every Student of this College (except those who were then out of Town & those who have declar'd or shall hereafter come to the President or One of the Tutors, & declare that they were not present,) shall be fin'd Eight Pence Lawful Money. And whereas it appears, that Stoddard 2d. Wyllys Ellery Hopkins 2d Hubbard 2d Olcott Lyman 2d & Dean, were the Actors of the Play, and undertook to pay for the Room & Wine aforesd. 'Tis thereupon consider'd that each of them shall be fined Three Shillings Lawful Money.[5]

The graduation exercises of his class were very quiet. Owing to "the present calamitous and distressing War" it was ordered by the Corporation that the Commencement be private, and that "whereas the Candidates for the first Degree have heretofore obliged every one in the Class to pay their proportionable Part of the Charge of purchasing a Pipe of Wine at the Commencement, this Board do now prohibit that Practice."[6] So runs the action of the Yale Corporation. Luxury and extravagance could not be tolerated at such a time of national distress.

His scholarship record as an undergraduate was excellent, especially in the classics. President Stiles preserved one of his Latin compositions, which may still be seen in the Library. He received the coveted Berkeley Scholarship, which made it possible for him to return for postgraduate study. Owing to his long residence in Europe, his college associations in later life were slight, but that he retained a friendly and grateful interest in his Alma Mater is shown by his letter to Dr. Stiles, congratulating him upon being called to preside over "the Colleges in New Haven," and offering his coöperation in establishing a French professorship:

I therefore take Liberty to propose (should it be agreeable to you and the reverent Corporation to patronize the Design) solliciting Assistance from some of my very noble & opulent Friends in France, to establish a Professor of the French

[5] MS. Judgments & Acts of the President & Tutors, No. 1, p. 69.
[6] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, p. 508.

Language in your Colleges, & to make a Collection of the Writings of their most celebrated Authors for your Library. . . . . I shall with the greatest pleasure contribute in proportion to the little I am possess'd of towards it, & I wish on this account in particular it was more considerable.[7]

Unfortunately the Corporation did not show the interest in the proposal which it deserved, and nothing came of it.[8] When he came up for his Master's degree, he took the negative of the question, *An Deus, salva Justitia, Pœnam Peccati, omittere Possit?*

For the decade after leaving college, school teaching, law, getting married, and business, succeeded each other as his major occupations. Then he entered public life through the Connecticut General Assembly, and began his real career. He soon became a member of the state's Committee of Correspondence, and of the first two Continental Congresses. In these positions he took advanced ground as a patriot, and proved himself most energetic and useful, especially in the second session. He was on important committees which laid the foundations for the American Army and Navy, and was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. This included such men as Robert Morris and Samuel Adams. In everything which had to do with adequate preparations for war, he was a leader.[9] Little wonder that President Stiles, writing in 1776, refers to him as "a most useful Member of Congress."[10] His legislative experience was interrupted by his joining Ethan Allen in the famous expedition against Ticonderoga, when the British commander was ordered to surrender in the name of "Jehovah and the Continental Congress." He was "the leading spirit" in Connecticut in this first important offensive movement after the Battle of Lexington, a piece of strategy which accomplished its purpose of preventing a British invasion from Canada.

In the spring of 1776 came the opportunity of his life. He was appointed Commercial and Political Agent to France, being selected

[7] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 297.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 304, footnote.
[9] See list of committee appointments, etc., Clark, *Silas Deane*, Chapter III.
[10] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. I, p. 654.

for this difficult and important task by the Committee of Correspondence, consisting of Franklin, Harrison, Dickinson, Jay, and Robert Morris. His instructions indicated the three main purposes of his mission:[11] to secure military supplies—guns, ammunition, etc., for an army of thirty thousand men; to procure articles for the Indians of the frontier, that they might be kept at least neutral by a continuance of the regular trade; and finally, to try to negotiate a friendly treaty with France. It was a large contract for an unskilled diplomat of an unrecognized nation, especially as it had to be accomplished secretly, and as he knew no French. But his success was marked. The Indian supplies were obtained readily, the munitions of war with great difficulty; but finally, through the coöperation of Beaumarchais and of the Comte de Vergennes, the Foreign Minister of Louis XVI, eight shipments were made, valued at over a million dollars. A total of 514,000 musket balls, about 50,000 stockings, 41,000 cannon balls, and nearly 161,000 pounds of powder, constituted characteristic portions of the cargo, which was ready to be forwarded about six months after his arrival in France. Without these supplies the American victory over Burgoyne at Saratoga would not have been, humanly speaking, possible.[12] Even more significant was the securing of Lafayette, Steuben, DeKalb, and other foreign officers, who did so much to make the Continental Army effective.

It must be remembered that these things were accomplished by Silas Deane before the arrival of Franklin. It is probably true that he had exceeded the letter of his instructions, that some of his accounts were incomplete, that he had been somewhat extravagant, and that his arrangements with foreign officers were, in several cases, unwise—but these things sink into insignificance in comparison with his achievement. In December, 1777, Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee joined him, and the three together successfully negotiated the only remaining task originally assigned to Deane by the Continental

[11] Deane's official letter informing the French King of the Declaration of Independence was offered the author in 1912, by a Philadelphia dealer, for $750!

[12] Clark, *Silas Deane*, p. 90.

Congress—the making of a treaty of friendship and of commerce between France and America. The criticisms of Deane at home, largely inspired by the now discredited testimony of Arthur Lee, had become so great that he was obliged to return, in 1778, to explain matters. His position was greatly strengthened by a letter from Dr. Franklin to the President of Congress, containing these sentences:

> I have no doubt that he will be able clearly to justify himself, but having lived intimately with him now fifteen months, the greatest part of the time in the same house, and being a constant witness of his public conduct, I cannot omit giving this testimony, though unasked, in his behalf, that I esteem him a faithful, active, and able Minister, who, to my knowledge, has done, in various ways, great and important services to his country, whose interests I wish may always be, by every one in her employ, as much and as effectually promoted.[13]

When Deane appeared on the witness stand, it was not only in defense of his reputation, but as a claimant for payment of his services. He was unable to get any satisfaction, so he published *An Address to the Free and Independant Citizens of the United States of North America,* of which there is an autograph copy in the Yale Library, which also owns the original of his Memorials to Congress in 1779. Still the government would not give him his due, although there was not the slightest evidence that there had been any misappropriation of funds, and ample facts to prove that he had greatly aided the cause of American liberty. He returned to France to complete his accounts, deeply grieved at heart both at the insinuations made against him, and at the failure of Congress to reward his services. Finally a commission reported that the country owed Deane more than thirty thousand dollars, but he never received a cent, and the claims of his estate were not settled by the United States until 1842—more than half a century after his death. Then the government paid his heirs thirty-seven thousand dollars, on the ground that the former audit was "ex parte, erroneous, and a gross injustice to Silas Deane."

He lived his later years in poverty and neglect in different places in Europe, brooding over his ill treatment. That he had a just

[13] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. II, p. 523.

grievance there is not the slightest doubt. The home government had treated him shamefully. These years were indeed pathetic ones. In 1781 occurred the incident of the "intercepted letters," in which the former patriot advocated the giving up of further resistance to England. Then came the charge, never proven, that his change of heart was due to a British bribe. Finally in his forlorn exile, he wished to return to his native land, but was for a long time dissuaded by friends who feared that he would be treated with disrespect. It was a sad ending of a career begun with distinction and patriotism. That Deane was even approached by a bribe from the English government speaks badly for his reputation in the last shattered years, but there is no evidence that it was accepted,[14] and it is recognized today that his disgraceful treatment by the American Congress went far to justify anything short of disloyalty. The ingratitude of his country had made shipwreck of a life that did not have enough nobility of character to stand the strain. However, we should not forget that it was the success of his mission to France that made possible some of Washington's triumphs on the battlefields at home. So Deane's memory should be cherished as that of one of the men who laid the foundations for American independence.

The sketch may well be closed by quotations from two of the most eminent patriots of the time. The diary of John Adams, who succeeded Deane as Commissioner, contains this reference, written in 1778, giving a good summary of the latter's personality and work: "Mr. Deane lived expensively and seems not to have had much order in his business, public or private; but he was active, diligent, subtle, and successful, having accomplished the great object of his mission to advantage."[15] Similarly John Jay wrote to him in 1781: "You merit the thanks, not the reproaches, of your country."

Volumes of Deane's letters have been published by the New York and Connecticut Historical Societies. Dr. Francis Wharton

[14] See Sketch of Deane in Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, pp. 525, 526.
[15] Quoted in Clark, *Silas Deane*, p. 259.

(q.v.), the eminent authority on international law, has published in *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* a critical estimate of his character and his achievement. Stillé's *Silas Deane, Diplomatist of the Revolution,* and Clark's *Silas Deane, A Connecticut Leader in the American Revolution,* are both interesting volumes.

Groton 17th Decr 1766

Mr. Mumford

Sir

I have an Acct. open with Messs: Saltonstalls to whom there is a Balls. of abt Ten or Twelve pounds Due, which Sr. you will much oblige me by Answering as I am at present out of Cash, and on sending your Acct. to me if there is not so much Due will answer your Draught on sight

I am in haste Sr.

Your most Hum. Servt.

Silas Deane

Mr. Thos. Mumford

P. S. Please to inform me as soon as possible if the above is agreeable—

This note, written from his birthplace and early home, dates from the brief period when Deane was a merchant securing a business training that was to prove invaluable to him in his commercial undertakings for the government. In 1763, he married the widow of a successful Connecticut country merchant, and it was in this way that he was drawn temporarily into business life. His statement, "I am at present out of Cash," seems like a pathetic prophecy of the later years.

Manasseh Cutler

Class of 1765

Born, May 28, 1742; Died, July 28, 1823

One of the Authors of the Ordinance of 1787, Botanist, etc.

It is hard to know where to class Manasseh Cutler. He might with almost equal appropriateness be considered in these volumes under Men of Science, Divines, Educational Leaders, Patriots, or Statesmen. He was a clergyman by main occupation, a botanist and astronomer of repute in his day, a merchant, doctor, lawyer, and Western pioneer. But his most important achievement—the securing of the passage by Congress of the far-sighted Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territories—makes it seem proper to consider him in the group of Yale Statesmen.

He was the son of a Connecticut farmer, and was born in what is now the village of Thompson. The Yale pastor of a neighboring church gave him the necessary academic preparation, and he entered as a Freshman in the autumn of 1761, finding an unusually large number of other men from Windham County in the College. They were in the habit of riding down together in a cavalcade at the beginning of term, taking along a boy to lead back their horses. His roommate during two years of his course was Colonel Hezekiah Wyllys, for whom he had "the firmest friendship and affection." "Our attachment," he said, "had been cemented by a similar taste for the same course of study, which we generally pursued together, and were companions in our amusements and parties of pleasure."[1]

Cutler's undergraduate course was passed in what was probably the most disorderly period in the history of Yale. Bad conditions occurred intermittently throughout the latter part of President Clap's administration. Here are some typical contemporary accounts. The first is from a letter of one of the Trustees, Jared Eliot (q.v.), and

[1] *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler,* Vol. I, pp. 211, 212.

was written in the spring of 1761. It shows the spirit to which Cutler's class fell heir:

> It seems to be still times with our New Lights, but not at College, where there has been a tumult, the Desk pulled down, the Bell-case broken, and the bell ringing in the night, Mr. Boardman the tutor beaten with clubbs,—not good fruits of Reformation.[2]

The undergraduates remained true to this tradition. In Cutler's Sophomore year a serious rebellion—to use the old student word—was brought about, because the Seniors refused to comply with a newly introduced law of the Corporation requiring attendance upon term examinations. A classmate of Cutler, twenty years later, gave Stiles an account of it, which the President thus transcribed in his diary:

> The whole Senior Class refused to be examined by the Tutors. Then the Presidt ordered the Class into the Libry & put it to one i, e. ord. him to turn to such a place and be examined, he refused; another—refused; 3 or 4—refused. He then dismissed them. Judgt read off in the Hall that these 3 or 4 be admonished—when Phin Lyman put on his Hat & walked out callg out, follow on my brave Boys. About half the Scholars followed & went out, leavg the President & Tutors & rest of the Scholars in the Hall. They immedy drew up a Remonstra & signed in a circle about sixty scholars & sent it to the Presidt. A College court was called—College in confusion some weeks. At length several were sick of it & offered to confess publickly—this broke the Combination—the Ring leaders were detected—Rustications, Fines, & Expulsions settled all in Quietness.[3]

It seems that the disorders were due partly to external political causes, and partly to the students' dislike of President Clap, which actually culminated three years later in their getting up a petition to the Corporation for his removal! And yet we continue to hear of respect for authority as a marked characteristic of old New England life! Perhaps this was true of an earlier period, but it certainly was not marked in the New Haven of most of the last third of the eighteenth century. The following action of the Corporation, taken in the summer preceding Cutler's Freshman year, is a good contemporary comment upon the conditions of the time. It should, however, be read

[2] Letter to Stiles, quoted in Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, p. 682. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 723.
[3] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. III, p. 332.

bearing in mind that eighteenth century college officers were prone to exaggerate undergraduate evils, accepting as wicked much that would today be considered as blameworthy or perhaps only as the exuberance of youth:

Whereas the principle End and Design of founding this College was to promote Religion and Learning: that young Men being trained up in the Ways of Piety and Virtue might be qualified for doing peculiar Service to God, especially in the Work of the Ministry. And yet the Conduct of some who have been admitted is visibly repugnant to that good End and Design. Particularly they are very negligent in attending on Prayers and Recitations, Recite but poorly and behave themselves with Levity, Whispering and Inattention at Prayers and Recitations, are frequently out of their Chambers, spending their Time in Idleness loud Talk and Laughter in Studying Time, and frequently make indecent and disturbing Noises of various Kinds in play Time, spend a considerable Part of their Time at Taverns, and generally show an habitual Disposition of Mind inclined to Vanity. And whereas there are many secret Acts of Wickedness done in the Dark, which are very evident by the Effects, and yet the particular Actors are not easy to be detected, such as stealing the Great Bible and the Monitors Bills tearing off the Caseings from the Windows, stealing the Weights tareing the Laths, Plastering and Boards from the Walls of the House, cutting down the Clock Case, ringing the Bell, contrary to Law, and many such Things as betoken a wicked Temper of Mind, opposite to all that is good, and destructive to the great End of the Institution of this Society, and which Render Persons unworthy of being Members of it. This Board being very desirous that this Society always be kept pure and well answer the Ends of its Institution, direct the Executive Officers of College to be strict in visiting the Chambers of the Students according to Law, and in observing remembering and (if need be) noting down their Behaviour in all the Articles before mentioned, and all other things relating to the good Order of College, and in punishing them according to Law, and in all Instances where it shall be found that the lesser Punishments are treated with Levity and Contempt, or are not sufficient to reform the Persons, then the Officers shall proceed to the greater Punishments, such as Admonition before the President and Tutors or more publicly in the Hall at their Discretion, and if in any particular Instance it shall be found that these Punishments shall be insufficient to reform the Persons, or if they should persist in the Practice of such Crimes as betoken an habitual Indisposition toward Studies and a Love to Idleness and Disorder or if upon Examination at any Time it shall be found that any Students are grossly Defective in these Points of Knowledge and Learning which they might have been acquainted with according to their Standing, such Person or Persons shall be dismissed from being Members of the College, altho they have not been guilty of any such great Crimes as, according to the Laws of College, are not worthy of Expulsion—[4]

[4] MS. Records Yale Corporation, July 21, 1761. The following action was taken at the same meeting: "This Board being fully determined to put a Stop to those vicious and

The only breach of college rules for which Cutler himself suffered is thus described in the Faculty records:

Whereas Patrick, Williams, Cutler, Nichols & Scot, Members of this College, have been lately guilty of playing at Cards, as appears by their own confession, which Practise is of a very ensnaring, dangerous and hurtful Tendency, peculiarly destructive to Study, which is one principal End of College, and likewise introductory to various pernicuous Vices; which is therefore strictly forbidden by the Laws of this College, and by the Laws of the Colony, and by no means to be tolerated in this Society: it is considered and determined by the President with the Advice of the Tutors, that they be fined half a Crown each, according to Law.[5]

It should be said to his credit that he confessed his fault when charged with this offense, in contrast to some of his companions who were more seriously punished as they "were guilty of wilful Falshood in denying the Fact."

In the spring of Cutler's Junior year an incident occurred which stirred the entire undergraduate community, and formed an important chapter in the struggle of the students to rid themselves of attending Commons.[6] Here is a contemporary account:

Last Saturday being at Court, about noon we were surprised with a very melancholly Story from College. 82 of the Students [out of 92 in Commons] were seized with violent Vomitings, great Thirst, Weakness in the Extremities and some with Spasms, and other Symptoms of Poison. By the Use of Emetics, Oleaginous and mucilaginous Draughts they are recovered, saving that some are yet weak in their joynts and affected in their Eyes. The Physicians conjecture it to be Arsenic, mixed with the Cake, on which they all Breakfasted. The French People are very generally suspected.[7]

It was never proved that the French cooks, exiled Acadians, had

extravagant Practices, which have for many Years past attended the publick Commencements: do determine this Day to give the Degree of Bachelor of Arts to the approved Candidates. And do Order that none of them shall have in their Chambers, in College, or in the Town, any Kind of strong Drink, besides one Quart of Wine and one Pint of Rum, for each Candidate in a Chamber. And if any Candidate or any one newly Graduated shall have any more or other Strong Drink, than the Quantity aforesaid, or send for any more strong Drink, during this Week, or if any Company of them shall get together and have any Strong Drink in the Town, he or they shall be deprived of all the future Honours of the College, and all undergraduates are entirely prohibited from having any Strong Drink in their Chambers, upon Penalty of the Law already provided, and all the Graduates and Undergraduates are especially commanded to be in their Chambers, immediately after Nine o'Clock at Night, and to be careful to abstain from making any Disturbance or loud Noise, and that with an especial Regard to the Fast agreed upon in the Town to be Tomorrow."

[5] MS. Judgments & Acts of the President & Tutors, No. 3, p. 66.

[6] For a history of the Yale Commons, see Kingsley, *Yale College*, Vol. I, p. 297.

[7] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. III, p. 57.

anything to do with the trouble. It is much more probable that the students themselves arranged the entire affair so as "to bring a Slur upon the Provisions made in the Hall," to quote from President Clap's record of the incident. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that the poison was of so light a character that its bad effects yielded readily to "Oleaginous and mucilaginous Draughts," remedies which appear, in the perspective of a century and a half, as much more to be feared than the ills they were intended to cure!

The student body of the time reflected the political attitude of the colonies towards the mother country. In November, 1764, a Senior wrote to his father:

> Shall not want that Cherry you Reserved for me before vacancy, as all the Scholars have unanimously agreed not to Drink any foreign spirituous Liquors any more, a scheme proposed by Mr. Woodhull & seconded by the other Tutors & the scholars in succession; there was no Compulsion, but all a voluntary Act.[8]

To understand the point of view, the word foreign should be underscored. It was a patriotic rather than a temperance wave that was sweeping over the College. The speeches of James Otis, and of Patrick Henry, had been read in New Haven, and the colonies were getting ready to oppose Grenville's stamp duties, which had been proposed the previous spring.

Towards the end of Junior year, Rev. George Whitefield again visited New Haven after an absence of about twenty years.[9] He preached with great effect. To quote his own words: "the students were so deeply impressed by the sermon, that they were gone into the chapel and earnestly entreated me to give them one more quarter of an hour's exhortation."[10] But it was politics rather than religion that most stirred the college community at this time.

Such were the conditions of undergraduate life when Cutler was a student. As to his own course, we know from an early historian of his locality that he was "distinguished for diligence and pro-

[8] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. III, p. 94.
[9] See under Brainerd.
[10] Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield,* Vol. I, p. 476.

Manasseh Cutler

Class of 1765

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[8] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. III, p. 94.
[9] Under Brainerd.
[10] Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield*, Vol. I, p. 507.

ficiency," and graduated with high honor. He was Chancellor of the Linonian Society, and took much interest in mathematics and natural science, especially astronomy. A manuscript is still in existence entitled "Manasseh Cutler, his Book of Astronomical Recreations, Performed at Yale College, N. Haven, A.D. 1763." The title page contains an extract from Virgil, beginning with words which seem particularly appropriate to our student:

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas[11]

Cutler, whose social rank placed him fourth from the bottom on the list of forty-five Master of Arts candidates, supported at Commencement, 1768, the affirmative of *An sacris Scripturis conveniat, ut omnes in republica christiana teneantur lege Civili sumptum facere ad publicum Dei cultum?*

There is an interesting autobiographic account of one of his later visits to the College. He seems to have been specially moved when he came to the Chapel:

> A view of the seats, pews, and gallery, called up a series of reflections on the hours I had spent within those walls, at public worship, in public examinations every quarter, and various exhibitions, that sensibly moved my tenderer passions. . . . . But the most affecting change to me is the loss of Mother Yale. Yale College was by far the most sightly building of any one that belonged to the University, and most advantageously situated. It gave an air of grandeur to the others. There are now only Connecticut Hall, the Chapel, which is three stories, containing the Library and Cabinet, also the Dining-hall and Kitchen.[12]

After graduation Cutler's work varied with the years. He taught school, was a merchant, and was then admitted to the Bar, but later gave up these pursuits for the ministry. This may be considered his major occupation after his settlement over the church in Ipswich, in 1771. Even then his manifold activity, and the financial needs of his family, demanded other outlets and inlets than the church provided, and we find him practicing medicine, rendering some service in the Revolutionary Army as a brave chaplain,[13] and

[11] MS. is in Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.
[12] *Life of Cutler,* under date of July 2, 1787.
[13] See Manasseh Cutler in Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. II, p. 47.

conducting, for several decades, a successful boarding school. In addition to his regular ministry, his two main interests were the study of botany, and the development of the Northwestern Territory. It is because of his achievements in these directions, and especially in the latter, that his name is included in this volume. President Stiles records in his diary for July 2, 1787:

> The Rev[d] Manasseh Cutler of Ipswitch visited us. He is a great Botanist, & is travellg on to Philad[a] to inspect all Vegetables & Plants in their State of Flowering, with the View of pfecting his Publication upon Indigenous American Plants ranged into Classes, Genera & Species according to the sexual or Linnaean System.[14]

Cutler's knowledge of botany was probably surpassed by no American of his generation. He has been called the "Father of New England Botany," and had most of his manuscript studies[15] been published, his scientific standing would be more generally recognized today.[16] Fortunately many of his papers on botany and astronomy are preserved in the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,* of which he was a prominent member. One of these is of special value as the earliest scholarly description and classification of the flora of New England. Three hundred and fifty species are included.

Cutler's work of historical importance was in connection with the development of the West and Northwest. His interest in this project began in 1786, when he united with other Revolutionary officers in founding the Ohio Company, which was to promote settlement "by the most robust and industrious people in America." This organization has been called the first group of people "to conceive and execute on a large scale a compact and systematic settlement of the country."[17] It was several years before another prominent graduate, General Moses Cleaveland (B.A. 1777), led the exploring party into Northern Ohio, which resulted in the founding

[14] Stiles, *Diary,* Vol. III, p. 68.

[15] Many of these are in the Harvard College Herbarium.

[16] Stephen Elliott (B.A. 1791), author of *A Sketch of the Botany of South Carolina and Georgia,* was another eminent early Yale botanist. Although a South Carolinian, Harvard, Yale, and Columbia all gave him the Doctor of Laws degree.

[17] *Life of Cutler,* p. 130.

of Cleveland—the "a" of the founder's name being dropped owing to its accidental omission by a type-setter, who was making up a copy of the local newspaper. As agent of the new company, Cutler visited Washington with Major Winthrop Sargent, and, after difficult negotiations, contracted for a million and a half acres beyond the Ohio River. He then organized an expedition to effect the necessary settlement. It started from his house in Ipswich, forty-five strong, and reached, in about four months, the site of Marietta, which was founded under General Israel Putnam. Before leaving for the West, Cutler had materially assisted Nathan Dane in drawing up the famous Ordinance of 1787, which laid down the form of government for the entire Northwest Territory—a prerequisite to his proposed development of the country. It contained several striking features, among them the prohibition of slavery, the setting apart of two townships as a foundation for a university (a provision for which Cutler was personally responsible), the guaranteeing of proper treatment to the Indian, and the well-known words, "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." It is probable that so liberal and statesmanlike a law would not have been proposed to Congress, and it is, humanly speaking, certain that it would not have been adopted, had it not been for the wisdom and earnestness of Manasseh Cutler. He was both indefatigable and eloquent in its behalf. When it is studied with reference to the development of the nation, it does not seem surprising that Daniel Webster should have said that he doubted "whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character,"[18] or that historians of note should place it next only to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, for its influence on American history.[19]

Dr. Cutler's later life was mostly spent in Ipswich, where he

[18] Quoted in *Report of American Historical Association* for 1896, Vol. I, p. 56.

[19] Cf. Elson, *History of the United States*, p. 324, and Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 547.

continued to the end a devoted parish minister, and an earnest student of natural science. He declined an appointment to the Supreme Court of the Ohio Territory, but served in the Massachusetts Legislature, and was for four years in Congress, being elected as a Federalist. It was appropriate that such distinguished public services should receive recognition from his Alma Mater, which conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws, but it is unfortunate that there is no memorial to him at the University. President Northrop and President Gilman both paid him high tributes at the Yale Bicentennial Celebration, but this is not enough—for it is due to his foresight, more than to any other single cause, that the great state universities of the West and Northwest have been able to develop into such noble institutions. His career was full of variety, activity, and interest. It was dominated throughout by the ideal of Christian service, and consequently he was respected by all who knew him. As Rev. Dr. Storrs said in his inaugural address as President of the American Historical Association:

> No glamour of romance invests his name; it does not loom through mists of a legendary past; but Dr. A. P. Peabody, of Cambridge, is reported to have said of him, what I gladly repeat: "For diversity of great gifts, for their efficient use, and for the variety of modes of honorable service to his country and to mankind, I doubt whether Manasseh Cutler has had his equal in American history.[20]

The *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.*, by his grandchildren, William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler, is an important two-volume biography. The University Library has a typewritten copy of "A Common-Place-Book Began & Keept at Yale College in New Haven June ye 10th 1762 By Manasseh Cutler, Student."

Ipswich May 13th 1783.

Sir,

The several Committees, appointed at the last meeting of the American Academy, meet [sic] at Cambridge on the 25th of March last. Upon

[20] *Report of the American Historical Association,* 1896, Vol. I, p. 60.

examining the papers on file, they were happy to find a greater number that may be worthy publication than was expected.—And proceeded to agree on a number of articles, which I have the honour of communicating to you.

The greater part of the communications on file belong to our department, M^r^. Parsons agrees with me in opinion that many of them can not fail of meeting y^e^ approbation of y^e^ public. But as the literary character of this state abroad will be greatly concerned in the first publication of the American Academy, papers for this volume ought to be selected with the utmost care & attention. Our greatest deficiency seems to be in essays, observations & experiments on the natural productions of this Country. Improvements in y^e^ various branches of Agriculture, & those useful Arts which will advance the internal wealth & happiness of our Citizens will be of greater public utility than matters of mere science, & ought, doubtless, to be the first objects of our attention.

We have a report that a Gentleman in Philadelphia has discovered a vegetable production that effectually cures Cancers, which have so long been the *opprobrium* of the Medical Art; & that this remedy has received the approbation of the Physicians of the first character in that City. I wish to know whether this be fact. If it be so, could a description of this vegetable be obtained, tho' the method of preparing & applying it, in this particular case, be kept a secret, it may be a valuable acquision [sic]. Botanical descriptions, likenesses [?], of any rare or valuable vegetable productions will be considered of importance.

Your letter, with the inclosed sentiments of your friend on the growth of plants communicated by y^e^ Hon. Gen^l^. Warren, gives me great pleasure. The principles of vegetation seem still to remain the *arcana* of science, but even while we are attempting to support hypotheses by critical observations & experiments we may be led to a more certain knowledge of y^e^ operations of nature, in the vegetable Kingdom, than has yet been ascertained. I could wish we might be favoured with further communications from that ingenious Gentleman. I shall esteem it a favor, if their [sic] be no impropriety, to be informed of his name & place of abode.

Give me leave, Sir, to assure you, of our dependance on further communications from you before the collection for the first volume is closed, & our intire confidence that shuch [sic] as you shall judge of importance, which may fall in your way, you will readily make.

I have the honour to be with sentiments of y^e^ highest esteem, Sir,
your most obedient & most humble Serv^t^.

MANASSEH CUTLER

P. S. I am desired to ask y^e^ favor of you to inform me, whether y^e^ Philosophical Society at Philadelphia propose soon to publish another volume of transactions.

Hon^ble^ Benjamin Lincoln Esq^r^.

This letter reflects in a most interesting way scientific knowledge in this country at the close of the Revolutionary War. It has to do mainly with the first publication of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.* This Academy is, next to the American Philosophical Society, also mentioned by Cutler, the oldest of the learned societies of its character in America. Cutler belonged to both organizations. The former was founded in 1780. The statement of purpose contained in its charter might well have been written by Cutler himself, so characteristic is it of him. This is declared to be "to promote and encourage the knowledge of the Antiquities of America, and of the natural history of the country, and to determine the uses to which the various natural productions of the country may be applied, to promote and encourage medical discoveries, mathematical disquisitions, philosophical inquiries and experiments, meteorological and geographical observations and improvements in agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce; and, in fine, to cultivate every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honor, dignity, and happiness of a free, independent, and virtuous people." The first volume of *Memoirs* did not appear until 1785, two years after this letter was written. It contains several contributions by Cutler. These include *Astronomical and Meteorological Observations,* and his important *Account of some of the Vegetable Productions, naturally growing in this Part of America, botanically arranged.*

Abraham Baldwin

Class of 1772

Born, November 22, 1754; Died, March 4, 1807
One of the Framers of the United States Constitution,
and Founder of the University of Georgia

Abraham Baldwin, like two other famous Yale graduates—Lyman Beecher and Silas Deane—was the son of a blacksmith. He was born in North Guilford, Connecticut. The stock must have been good, even though humble, for several of the family were sent to college and showed large abilities. One half-brother, Henry Baldwin (B.A. 1797), was appointed a Justice of the United States Supreme Court, and a sister became the wife of the poet and diplomat, Joel Barlow (q.v.). It speaks well for the sturdy blacksmith that he removed to New Haven, when Abraham was a Freshman, for the better education of his children.

Baldwin was a member of Linonia, and its friendships and opportunities for intellectual training meant much to him. The records show that he was a frequent participator in meetings and debates. For instance, "the question proposed by Baldwin to be recorded was this, Qu. At what time did the Latin Language arive [sic] to the greatest perfection in the City of Rome? Ans. About fifty years before and after the Reign of Augustus."[1] This refers to the custom of propounding some "curious question"[2] for discussion at each meeting. We can, in a measure, enter into the early bond of this society by reading these closing words of the Valedictory at the Anniversary in his Senior year. It was by Elisha Billings, and is the oldest of these addresses to have been preserved. It has an added interest from the fact that the Junior Orator who responded to it was Nathan Hale (q.v.).

[1] MS. Records of Linonia, July 25, 1770.
[2] *Ibid.*, November 20, 1771.

Dear Class-mates, For almost four years we have been nearly connected as Class-mates; but more so as sons of Linonia. A thousand pleasing things have rendered us not only friends, but brothers; and how agreably have the hours roll'd, in delightful Conversation? But alas! these charming, pleasing and delightful Scenes are now drawn to a close. Then fare well Linonia, dear Class-mates fare well, Gentlemen one and all fare well, a long a long farewell![3]

After graduation he studied theology and then returned to college, where he served as tutor for four years. President Stiles speaks of him as "a good Hebrician,"[4] and "a very excellent & worthy Man."[5] He was deeply interested in English literature and was doubtless mainly responsible for the conditions described in a contemporary criticism of the Junior and Freshman classes, which, in the autumn of 1777, were under Professors Strong and Baldwin at Glastonbury. They "have left the more solid parts of Learn^{g} & run into Plays & dramatic Exhibitions chiefly of the comic kind & turn'd College . . . . into Drury Lane."[6] Here we have the early beginnings of the Yale Dramatic Association!

On leaving the tutorship, in 1779, he served until the war's close as a chaplain in the army. He found time to make occasional visits to New Haven, where he preached to the students in the Chapel. In 1781, he was elected Professor of Divinity in the College, a remarkable appointment for a young man of twenty-six. The other candidates were eminent divines, such as Reverend Messrs. Wales and Buckminster. President Stiles, discussing the selection, says:

Mr. Bald. was equal to both collectively as to the Languages, Philosophy, belles Lettres, & History & the Sciences in general, modest, prudent, judicious, well accepted at College, his Elocution good, & tho' young in the study of Div^{y} yet judged sound & orthodox particularly by Mr. Huntington who had heard him preach two sermons upon the topical subjects of human *Depravity* & the *Atonement*—and as he was studious from his youth up & hopefully would continue to be so, it was expected that he would become the learned Theologian.[7]

This estimate of his ability was evidently shared by the Corporation, which "being satisfied of the expediency of taking further measures

[3] Linonia Society, MS. Orations and Dissertations, p. 20.
[4] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 291.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 347. [6] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 230. [7] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 500.

to obtain his acceptance unanimously voted for his Encouragement a salary of £130,"[8] as well as a house, and the promise of later increases. But he declined the call, partly, according to Stiles, because of the insufficient salary, partly because of his "Prospect of being called, together with a Group or Cluster of Geniuses into a Literary Institution hereafter."[9] The incident is of interest as showing the fine impression which Baldwin had made as a young man upon the Yale authorities.

After the war he went South at General Greene's suggestion, and took up the practice of law in Georgia. In 1784, when a member of the state legislature, he originated the plan for the University of Georgia, drew up its charter the following year, secured from the state an endowment of forty thousand acres, and served as President long enough to effect the organization of the institution. He was only thirty-one when he accomplished this important work, which entitles him to be considered as the Founder and Father of the University. Many educational features of the institution were modeled after his Alma Mater, while the first important building, still standing, was copied after Connecticut Hall. The preamble of the charter contains Baldwin's sound justification for the enterprise:

> As it is the distinguishing happiness of free governments that civil order should be the result of choice and not of necessity, and the common wishes of the people become the laws of the land, their public prosperity and even existence very much depend upon suitably forming the minds and morals of their citizens. . . . . This is an influence beyond the reach of laws and punishments, and can be claimed only by religion and education. It should therefore be among the first objects of those who wish well to the national prosperity to encourage and support the principles of religion and morality, and early to place the youth under the forming hand of society, that by instruction they may be moulded to the love of virtue and good order.[10]

In 1785 he was elected to the Continental Congress, and, for the remaining twenty-two years of his life, he was a figure of national

[8] MS. Records Yale Corporation for 1781, p. 78.
[9] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 556.
[10] Jones, *Biographical Sketches of the Delegates from Georgia to the Continental Congress*, p. 6.

importance, devoting his time entirely to the service of the public in helping to create and start the new government. His most lasting political work was performed as the "ablest member"[11] from his state of the Convention[12] of 1787, which framed the Constitution of the United States. His vote at one stage of the proceedings was of large significance. It came when the question of the method of representation of the different states in Congress was under discussion. Five states had voted for equality of suffrage in the Senate, and five had opposed it. Georgia remained to be heard from. Her vote was divided, and consequently did not count. John Fiske thus refers to the incident:

> It was Abraham Baldwin, a native of Connecticut and lately a tutor in Yale College, a recent emigrant to Georgia, who thus divided the vote of that state, and prevented a decision which would in all probability have broken up the convention. His state was the last to vote, and the house was hushed in anxious expectation, when this brave and wise young man yielded his private conviction to what he saw to be the paramount necessity of keeping the convention together. All honour to his memory![13]

He was a member of the first national House of Representatives, and continued in this body until his transfer to the Senate, in 1799. Here his ability and reputation for fairness and sound judgment were so conspicuous that he served as President *pro tempore* both in 1801 and in 1802. He started his public career as a Federalist, but his later affiliations were with the Democrats.

Baldwin was a patriot of strength of character, and of constructive ability. The zeal for education which he developed at Yale remained with him throughout life, and resulted in the foundation of an important university, and in the rendering of personal help to many young men of small means and large promise, who were seeking an education. He never married. His public services were honorable and conspicuous. No one doubted his patriotism or the purity of his character. There is no exaggeration in the tribute of Joel Barlow,

[11] Farrand, *Framing of the Constitution*, p. 26.

[12] For a most interesting contemporary account of the achievements of the Constitutional Convention as derived from Baldwin, see Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. III, pp. 293, 294.

[13] Fiske, *Critical Period of American History*, Vol. II, p. 270.

his brother-in-law, who had known him from the days when the poet was a tutor and Baldwin a student. The former said: "the annals of our country have rarely been adorned with a character more venerable, or a life more useful than that of Abraham Baldwin."[14]

Baldwin County, Georgia, was named after him, but his principal monument is the university which he founded. A good sketch of his life is that given in Volume IV of the *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans,* published in 1839. Much of his unpublished correspondence is in New Haven, the property of the family of Professor Weir.

New York 5th June 1788

Dear Sir

I wrote you a few weeks since respecting my quaker suit with Middleton &c.

Since then, I find Sykes is returned to Philadelphia. He was only agent in the business, the real owner of the goods was Samuel Pleasants of Philadelphia. I have just got a letter from him to know whether the suit is renewed, or what has been done in the business, or what I thought ought to be done. I wrote him to furnish you with letters of administration by October court, and that all the rest you would do. If he could get good security for his money to be paid in two or three years, he would agree to it, in preference to renewing the suit in the present state of the country. Do write him a line immediately what you think about it, give it to any body going to Chasleton or Savannah with direction to them to see it put aboard of either of the packets, it will reach him soon and safely.

I hear, friend Jones, you have started some new game, as it is a fresh scent I should suppose the pursuit must be brisk, particularly to an old sportsman.

We have just got the good news from South Carolina. Virginia is now in session, we feel very doubtful about them. This state meets 17th inst, their members are chosen, and are said by good judges to be antifederal nearly 2 to 1. This city is almost all federal, the governor, who is their champion of opposition, had but 134 votes here. New Hampshire meets again on the same day, but they acted so ill before, I dare not hope much good from them.

[14] Jones, *Biographical Sketches of the Delegates from Georgia to the Continental Congress,* p. 5.

Where we are to go for the ninth [to] sit all the mighty wheels in motion, time must determine. I fear it will be delayed too long.

We have presented our act of cession, and tendered an execution of our powers. The subject is committed they seem not to know what to make of it.

With respect and esteem I am, Dear Sir,

Your obedient humble servant

Abr Baldwin

Seaborn Jones, Esq[r]

This is a contemporary document regarding one of the critical periods in American history, and it dates from the most critical month. The Constitutional Convention, of which Baldwin had been a member, had adjourned in September, 1787, after providing that the new form of government should go into existence if ratified by nine states. Eight states had given their formal consent when Baldwin wrote this letter. In the order of their approval they were: Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, and South Carolina. The question now was where the ninth vote would come from, as in the remaining states the anti-federalist party was everywhere active. The important state of Virginia, which then carried more political weight than any other commonwealth, was carried for the Constitution, June 25, by a very narrow majority, while her action was preceded by four days by that of New Hampshire, which also went Federalist. Baldwin was right in thinking at the time of writing that the outlook in New York was doubtful. Governor Clinton strongly opposed the basis of union, but Hamilton was a mighty influence in its favor, and the strong common sense of the people prevailed. The state convention voted "Yes" late in July.

Oliver Wolcott

Class of 1778

Born, January 11, 1760; Died, June 1, 1833

Secretary of the Treasury under Washington

The only Yale graduate who had the honor of belonging to Washington's Cabinet was Oliver Wolcott, who was its last survivor. He was born in Litchfield, Connecticut, of the patrician stock of old New England. His father was Governor Oliver Wolcott (q.v.), one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence.

He was privately prepared for college by a Yale graduate (Nathaniel Beckwith, B.A. 1766), and was ready for admission when thirteen. The account has been preserved of his trip to New Haven. He was well mounted and given a letter of introduction to the ministers on the road. The first stop was at Watertown:

> I found Parson Trumbull [B.A. 1735] in the field Superintending laborers. He received me well, ordered my horse to be taken care of, and invited me to a farmer's dinner. He looked kindly at me, and placing his hand on my head said, I was one of the old stock of Independents. I did not then understand his meaning, but as it was said to be a family characteristic, I recollected it ever after. I was dismissed in season to get down to parson Leavenworth's, at Waterbury, before sunset. Here I found another agricultural clergyman, who lived well in a good house, but in a poor parish, where the lands did not enable his parishioners to afford a support equal to that received by parson Trumbull. On asking my name, placing his hands on my head, he enquired whether I intended, if I was able, to be like old Noll, a republican and a King Killer? These words were new phrases to my ears, but I treasured them in my memory.[1]

As Trumbull was a member of the Yale Corporation, and as Rev. Mr. Leavenworth was a graduate in the Class of 1737, Master Oliver had plenty of opportunity to get good advice regarding his college course. He spent a week in New Haven passing the necessary examinations, but decided to postpone the beginning of his college course for another year:

[1] Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams . . . .* 1846, Vol. I, pp. 10, 11.

I went up to college in the evening to observe the scene of my future exploits with emotions of awe and reverence. Men in black robes, white wigs and high cocked hats, young men dressed in camblet gowns, passed us in small groups. The men in robes and wigs I was told were professors; the young men in gowns were students. There were young men in black silk gowns, some with bands and others without. These were either tutors in the college or resident graduates to whom the title of "Sir" was accorded. When we entered the college yard a new scene was presented. There was a class who wore no gowns and who walked but never ran or jumped in the yard. They appeared much in awe or looked surlily after they passed by the young men habited in gowns and staves. Some of the young gownsmen treated those who wore neither hats or gowns in the yard with harshness and what I thought indignity. I give an instance: "Nevill, go to my room, middle story of old college, No. —, and take from it a pitcher, fill it from the pump, place it in my room and stay there till my return." The domineering young men I was told were scholars or students of the sophomore class, and those without hats and gowns and who walked in the yard were freshmen, who out of the hours of study were waiters or servants to the authority, the president, professors, tutors and undergraduates.[2]

During his last two years in college, the difficulty of securing food supplies was acute. The Steward was finally obliged, in September, 1778, to advertise in the public prints, requesting "the Parents and Guardians of the Students to assist in furnishing a supply of Provisions."[3] But these did not constitute the only scarcity. In the fall of Junior year the Corporation "Voted, that in consideration of the scarcity of Rooms in College, four students shall live in each room."[4] Undergraduates were less particular then than they are today.

Among the unusually large number of Wolcott's distinguished classmates was Noah Webster (q.v.). The latter's impressions of his friend are interesting:

I was an intimate friend, class-mate, and for some months room-mate with Gov. Wolcott. My acquaintance with him was of nearly sixty years duration. I found him always frank and faithful in his friendship, and generous to the extent of his means. He was in college a good scholar, though not brilliant. He possessed the firmness and strong reasoning powers of the Wolcott family, but with some eccentricities in reasoning.[5]

[2] Quoted from Johnston, *Nathan Hale*, p. 25. Original in *Wolcott Memorial*, p. 225.
[3] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 93.
[4] MS. Records Yale Corporation, October 23, 1776.
[5] Gibbs, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 11.

He may not have been brilliant, but he was the "head scholar" of his class, holding this position for every year of the college course.[6] His patriotism also had several opportunities to show itself during his student days. In Junior year, while home on a short vacation, he was awakened at midnight by a summons to join the militia in an attempt to prevent the British under Tryon from destroying the stores of the patriots at Danbury. His father was attending Congress at the time, but his mother got ready his knapsack, and told him "to conduct like a good soldier." This injunction was obeyed, and the young undergraduate took part in several skirmishes. The events at college during these years are described in a letter of a student of the class below Wolcott. It was written more than fifty years after the events described, so its accuracy in details may be questioned, although it doubtless fairly reproduces the spirit of the time:

My connection with college was in 1775. In days that "tried men's souls"—in time of the Revolution. A war spirit prevailed in all the old 13—Patriotism, warmed the hearts of the free born sons of Yale. Fired with the news of the death of their countrymen at Lexington, 100 of her sons marshaled for fight, rush to Boston and I see an old gentleman point his cane and hear him say: "What do you think Gage will say when he knows that a hundred men from Yale College are come to fight him?"

The upper classes in the interval of studies, are on the lower Green with their music practicing, marching, maneuvering.

Soon after my acquaintance with alma mater, Col. Ira Allen from Vermont, brought the good news of the capture of the Fort of St. John's—a thrill of joy pervades the city and the college. Cannon are ordered out, 13 thunders, one for each state, tell the heartfelt joy. At the last fire, the Col., soldier-like, leaped on the cannon—swung his hat and cried aloud "God save the Continental Congress!" Three cheers! Oh they were given to the life![7]

It will be seen from the above that student life at Yale was much disturbed during Wolcott's course. Conditions had become so bad that the following vote was passed by the Corporation towards the close of his Junior year:

Whereas the Difficultics of subsisting the Students in this Town are so great,—the Price of Provisions and Board so high,—and the Avocations from Study,

[6] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 516.
[7] J. Maltby (B.A. 1779). Quoted in *Yale Alumni Weekly*, January 5, 1912.

occasioned by the State of Public Affairs so many;—Difficulties which still increase and render it very inconvenient for the Students to reside here at Present; and yet considering the great Importance; that they be under the best Advantages of Instruction and Learning, Circumstances will permit:—Voted that in the Opinion of this Board, it is necessary to provide some other convenient Place or Places, where the classes may reside under their respective Tutors; until God in his kind Providence shall open a Door for their Return to this fixed and ancient Seat of Learning; and that Messrs. Taylor and Goodrich be a Committee for that Purpose, and make Report to the next Meeting of this Board.[8]

He always retained a friendly interest in his Alma Mater. In 1807 he made a gift of two thousand dollars, which still constitutes a special fund in the Library, while in a letter written to President Dwight, forty years after graduation, he referred to Yale as "an Institution of the highest importance to Society."[9] In another letter to his brother Frederick (B.A. 1786), who was only a few years after him in college, he gives the young Freshman some good advice, which throws light on his own undergraduate life and ideals:

I suppose this will find you a Freshman with your Hat under your Arm under continual Apprehensions of some severe Discipline from those self-important Gentry who affect to stile themselves your Superiors. You ought however to remember that this Superiority will be of short Duration in case you make a proper Use of the Advantages which are now in your hands. It is not being one Year before you in College that gives any person an Advantage over you, but it is the improvement they have made of that Year. You have an undoubted right to despise an ignorant Fellow, who values himself upon his priviledge of wearing a Gown, though it would be improper and imprudent to express any Contempt publickly; and as you have a Right to entertain this Opinion of Others, they have the same Right to think of you in a Way much to your Disadvantage should you be so foolish as to be proud of any thing but your Learning. . . . . I had the Reputation of being a good Scholar while I was in College, if you do not equal or excell me you may depend upon it that people will make a Comparison to your Disadvantage—a thing which I hope you are too proud to suffer.

As for those Butterflies you will see every Day in New Haven who think that they are the best people because they wear the richest Cloaths, drink the most Wine, and do the most Mischief, you may depend upon it that they will in ten Years time—a period which will soon arrive—be the most despicable part of the Community. They will be ignorant, unhealthy and poor, consequences that naturally follow from Inattention, Profligacy, and Extravagance. . . . .[10]

[8] MS. Records Yale Corporation, April 1, 1777.
[9] *Wolcott Memorial*, p. 298.
[10] *Memorial of Henry Wolcott*, pp. 319, 320.

After leaving college he studied law at the Litchfield School, but his studies were interrupted by further volunteer service as an aid to his father. He declined an opportunity to be one of the "young Gentlemen of Spirit and Learning"[11] whom General Parsons sought as ensigns in the Continental Army, and was duly admitted to the Bar in 1781. Shortly afterwards he took his Master's degree at New Haven, the program thus announcing his part: *An Agricultura in Republica Americanâ sit magis colenda quam Commercium. Affirmat respondens Oliverus Wolcott.*[12] He prepared for the same occasion an English Oration on the Progress of Society, but President Stiles tells us that it was "omitted for want of time"[13]—a rather humiliating experience. Declining a college tutorship, he took up his residence in Hartford, where he became intimate with the coterie known as the "Hartford Wits," and cultivated his literary tastes, especially in the English classics.

Wolcott began early his training for his difficult work as head of the finances of the country. His start was in the office of the Committee of the Pay Table. He then became a commissioner with Oliver Ellsworth to settle the accounts of Connecticut against the United States, and later, as the first Comptroller of Public Accounts, he was charged with the important task of reorganizing the financial methods of the state. His skill as a financier soon attracted outside attention. Alexander Hamilton made him Auditor of the Treasury Department and, when a vacancy occurred, advanced him to the Comptrollership. This he filled with distinction, until 1795, when, on Hamilton's resignation, he became Secretary of the Treasury. In the meantime he had declined the presidency of the United States Bank with a large salary, "preferring the public service, and believing that such a station would be deemed unsuitable for a young man without property."[14] He remained in the Cabinet through Wash-

[11] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 342.
[12] *Wolcott Memorial*, p. 229.
[13] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 555.
[14] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. IV, p. 84.

ington's administration, and under Adams, until he resigned in 1800, because of his lack of sympathy with some of the President's views. His conduct of the office was most creditable, and would have attracted more attention had it not been for the fact that he was immediately preceded by Hamilton, and almost immediately followed by Gallatin, two men of the highest capacity.

After serving for a year as United States Circuit Judge, he held important business positions in New York, including the first presidencies of the Merchant's Bank and of the Bank of America. Having returned to Litchfield he was elected Governor of the state, a position held by his father and grandfather before him, and was continued in the office for the ten years beginning with 1817. His position in Connecticut at this time is shown by his election to the chairmanship of the State Constitutional Convention.

Wolcott's main title to permanent recognition rests upon his substantial contribution to the proper financial administration of the new government, and especially to his services as head of the Treasury Department in the difficult period from 1795 to 1800. Because of this work, and of other useful public activities, his Alma Mater followed Brown and Princeton in conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. A portrait of him by Gilbert Stuart is owned by the University. His gift of two thousand dollars to the College Library, in 1807, was, according to the first President Dwight, the largest single benefaction "in modern times"![15] Professor Dexter quotes the following tribute from the *New York American,* written immediately after his death:

> The character of Mr. Wolcott was strongly marked. Stern, inflexible, and devoted in all that duty, honor, and patriotism enjoined, he was, in private life of the utmost gentleness, kindness, and sincerity. With strong original powers, early developed by the stirring events of the Revolutionary days in which he was born, he had acquired a habit of self reliance which little fitted him for that sort of political coöperation which results from expediency rather than right. He aimed at

[15] Dwight, *Travels* (1823 Edition), Vol. I, p. 175.

the right always and at all events, according to his best convictions; and if any questioned his judgment, none could impeach his honesty and sincerity.[16]

It should be added that Mrs. Wolcott was a woman of rare dignity and charm. It is reported that the British Minister at Washington noticing her at an entertainment said to General Tracy, her husband's classmate at Yale: "Senator, that woman would be admired even at the Court of St. James." "Sir," he answered, "she is admired even on Litchfield Hill!"

The most important record of Wolcott's life is given in *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams, edited from the papers of Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury,* by George Gibbs, two volumes, 1845.

Litchfield March 25. 1825

Dear Sir.

I have delayed answering your Letter of Feb.^{y} 23^{d} longer than I should have done had I not expected the return of Col^{o}. Huntington from New York. I send a Letter to M^{r}. Gallatin & a Certificate which may be of use to M^{r}. Fisher if he should happen into the hands of strangers. I predict however that if he is once introduced to men of Science in Paris no further introductions will be necessary. I will thank you to see that M^{r}. Fisher signs the Certificate when it is delivered to him. If he does not leave New Haven immediately I should be glad to write to M^{r}. Greene & to M^{r}. Daniel Sheldon.

Yrs affec^{y}

President Day. Oliv. Wolcott.

This letter is of tragic Yale interest as the "Mr. Fisher" referred to is Professor Alexander Metcalf Fisher (q.v.), the brilliant young scientist who was shipwrecked a month later. Internal evidence and President Day's endorsement on the back show conclusively that Governor Wolcott should have dated the letter March 25, 1822, instead of 1825. "Mr. Gallatin"—Albert Gallatin—was at this time American Minister to France, and consequently in a position to be of large assistance to Professor Fisher in making the acquaintance of European men of science.

[16] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. IV, p. 86.

John Caldwell Calhoun

Class of 1804

Born, March 18, 1782; Died, March 31, 1850

Vice-President of the United States

Calhoun influenced the political history of the United States more deeply than any other graduate during the first two centuries of the College's history, so that all that can be ascertained regarding his education is of importance.

He was the son of Hon. Patrick Calhoun, and was born in Abbeville District, South Carolina. His father died when he was fourteen, so he was sent to the Georgia school of his relative, Rev. Dr. Waddel, and from there, after a short period of tutoring, he entered Yale College in the fall of Junior year. He was an excellent scholar, although not Valedictorian, as has been sometimes erroneously stated. He had large powers of acquisition, shown by the fact that he received his Bachelor's degree four years from the time he began his Latin grammar. He was only two years at the University, but the time was sufficient to serve as a most important factor in his own education. Indirectly his connection with it helped to broaden the influence of Yale which, for the first half of the nineteenth century, and partly because of Calhoun, became the favorite Northern university for Southern students.[1] In the Class of 1820 they formed twenty per cent of the total, and in that of 1831 twenty-nine per cent, the highest proportion ever reached.[2] This growing popularity of Yale with the South was particularly true of his native state. As early as 1788, Jedidiah Morse (q.v.) reported that in Charleston, and in other places in the Southeast, "they call Yale College the Athens of America." During much of the quarter century

[1] The line of regular packets from New Haven to Charleston, and the national reputation of President Dwight, were other factors.

[2] *Yale Literary Magazine*, Vol. 17, p. 31.

after Calhoun's graduation, New York, New Haven, and Hartford, were the only cities whose student representation at Yale exceeded that of Charleston, while in 1819 the Southern sentiment at the College had become so strong that according to a contemporary statement: "On the third of July this year happened the noted scrape which in the issue divided the Linonian Society and indirectly caused so much difficulty to ours [Brothers in Unity]. On the Linonian election evening, the Southern party took their leave of the Society and formed a new one known by the name of the Calliopean."[3] Rumblings of this impending storm were heard in his undergraduate days. He was originally allotted to Linonia, and his signature on its membership book may still be seen. He signed it when he entered college, but apparently took little part in the society's doings, as he frankly preferred Brothers, which was then in favor among Southerners. As a result both societies claimed him for almost half a century afterwards.[4] The following brief record, mainly significant for what is left unsaid, tells the sad official story of how, in 1840, Linonia finally learned beyond doubt that Calhoun did not pay her allegiance. In response to a specific request for an authoritative statement, a letter was read "from the Hon. Wm. L. Storrs [then in Congress] giving definite information on that momentous and long agitated question, whether John C. Calhoun had been a member of this or the Brothers Soc. during the time of his connection with Yale College."[5] In the manuscript records of the Brothers in Unity, a copy of this letter is preserved, which had been provided on request. It contains the following statement:

Mr. Calhoun has since stated to me verbally & authorizes me to communicate the information to you, that, during the time he was a member of Yale College, he was not a member of either of the Literary Societies there. Previous to his entering college the mode of designating the members of those societies by lot was adopted, by which he was appointed to the Linonia Society. Most of his political & personal friends (who were from the South) being members of the Society of Brothers in

[3] *Yale Review* for 1912, p. 241.
[4] See account, slightly inaccurate, in Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, p. 193.
[5] MS. Records of Linonia for June 24, 1840.

Unity he preferred to belong to that society; but the rules, then prevailing, not allowing this, he attached himself to neither of the Societies.[6]

On the other hand, a letter from Dr. Alexander H. Stevens (q.v.), the original of which is in a private collection in New Haven, shows that he thought in later life that he remembered an address from Calhoun in Linonia in the fall of 1803. The letter follows:

I entered the freshman class in 1803—(if I remember right the class was arranged alphabetically & each alternate member was assigned to one or the other society.) My elder Brother Samuel Stevens was then a member of the Junior class & of the Brothers Society—(so that but for this arrangement I should not have had the good fortune to become a Linonian—a circumstance which [has] given me many pleasant hours & I hope much improvement. No incident in college recollections is more vividly impressed on my mind than that which occurred at the first meeting when we signed the Constitution & heard an address directed especially to us who had just joined the society by Jno C. Calhoun who presided at the meeting & was I believe President of the Society. He called upon us to improve the precious time of our college life & pointed out the glorious rewards of industry—"By study & labour we might ascend the Pisgah [of] Science & enjoy a full vision of the promised land." Our young hearts thrilled with his eloquence.

But this is not all. The society of Brothers in Unity officially claimed Calhoun. Its members acknowledged that he never signed their constitution, but they maintained that they "had from himself assurances of his undiminished attachment to us."[7] So much for the conflicting evidence. It is almost impossible to reconcile these various statements, but certain facts seem to be indicated. Calhoun did join Linonia, and he did not join Brothers, although his friends were mostly in the latter. If he spoke at the initiation of Linonia in the fall of his Senior year, as seems probable, his attendance at the meeting was not in accordance with his regular custom, for he was not intimately identified with the life of the society. The matter has been discussed in some detail, because it was a *cause célèbre* in college for many student generations, and no adequate statement has heretofore appeared in print.

Fortunately there is no uncertainty as to his connection with

[6] MS. Records of Brothers in Unity, July 15, 1840. The letter from Mr. Storrs is dated June 15, 1840.

[7] *Catalogue of the Brothers in Unity*, 1841, preface.

Phi Beta Kappa. He served on several of its committees, including one to devise a plan for raising a fund to assist "indigent Brethren residing at the University."[8] The subjects which he debated at its meetings have a special interest for us. These included "Is government founded on the social compact?" decided in the negative, and "Is Language of Divine Origin?" decided in the affirmative. He doubtless took part in many of the other debates, but these were his formal assignments.

President Dwight was the dominant influence in the College in Calhoun's undergraduate days. He was a strong Federalist, while his pupil was an ardent young Republican. There was ample opportunity in recitations and debates for conflict of opinion, especially on the fundamental question of the origin of political power in a democracy. A resulting incident, often quoted, is thus recorded by one of Calhoun's biographers:

> In a recitation during the senior year, on the chapter on Politics in Paley's Moral Philosophy, the doctor, with the intention of eliciting his opinion, propounded to Mr. Calhoun the question, as to the legitimate source of power. He did not decline an open and direct avowal of his opinion. A discussion ensued between them which exhausted the time allotted for the recitation, and in which the pupil maintained his opinions with such vigor of argument and success, as to elicit from his distinguished teacher the declaration, in speaking of him to a friend, that the young man had talent enough to be President of the United States, which he accompanied by a prediction that he would one day attain that station.[9]

A reminiscence of this prediction is preserved in an old political song, sung in the forties, and still remembered by Yale men in New Haven. It ran about like this:

John C. Calhoun my Jo, John!
When first we were acquaint
You were my chum at Yale, John,
And something of a Saint—
And Doctor Dwight, God bless him John!
Predicted as you know
You'd be the Nation's President,
John C. Calhoun, My Jo![10]

[8] MS. Records Phi Beta Kappa for July 11, 1803.
[9] Jenkins, *Life of Calhoun*, p. 30.
[10] Communicated to the author by Henry T. Blake (B.A. 1848). Compare the old ballad, "John Anderson my Jo, John."

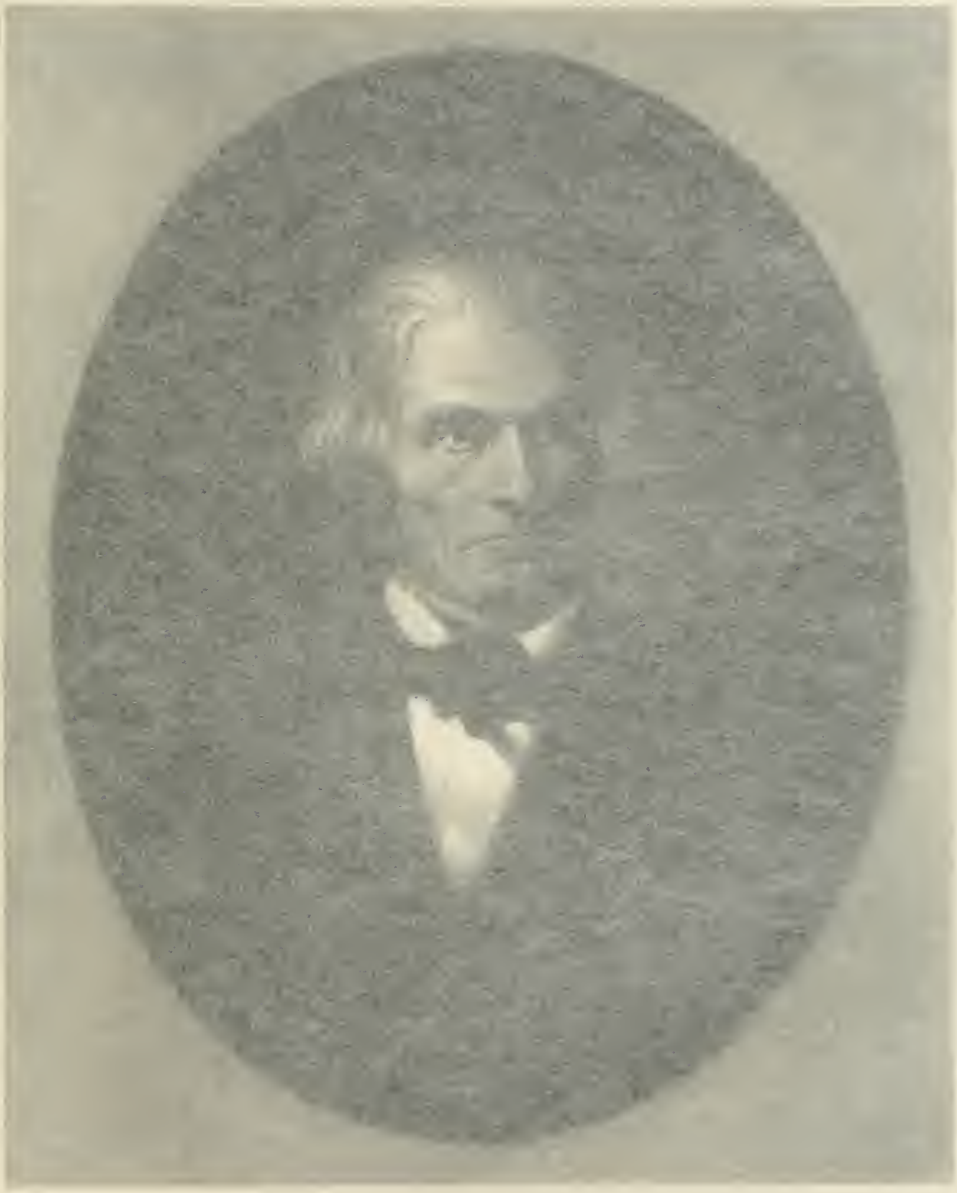
At Commencement he was given an English Oration. The subject chosen was suggestive both of his interest at the time and of the ideal which dominated his future career—"the Qualifications necessary to form a Statesman." Unfortunately illness prevented his delivering his piece. One of his Yale teachers, Professor Silliman, who kept in touch with him after graduation, records that as an undergraduate "He was a first-rate young man, both for scholarship and talent, and for pure and gentlemanly conduct."[11]

Evidence of Calhoun's interest in his Alma Mater is preserved in a letter written in 1818, accompanying his subscription to the *American Journal of Science.* Here is the last clause: "You do me justice in supposing that I still retain an affection for the institution with which you are connected. I have every reason to feel the strongest gratitude to Yale College, and shall always rejoice in her prosperity."[12] Several years later (1825) he contributed one hundred dollars towards the purchase of the Gibbs' Cabinet of Minerals—the nucleus about which the Peabody Museum was built up. He again wrote to Professor Silliman a letter showing much college loyalty:

> You do not mistake my feelings in supposing that I take deep interest in the prosperity of Yale College. Besides the feelings with which I regard it as one of her sons, (I trust not less strong than they ought to be,) I consider it one of the lights of the nation, which under Providence, has mainly contributed to guide this people in the path of political, moral, and religious duties.[13]

After graduation he returned home to read law, but the following year found him back in Connecticut at the remarkable Law School[14] at Litchfield, conducted by Judge Reeve and James Gould (q.v.). Having completed eighteen months of professional study, he went back to his native state, and was admitted to the Bar. He was almost immediately elected to the legislature, where his abilities were so marked that, in 1810, he secured an election to Congress. For the next forty years Washington was his headquarters, and the nation

[11] Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman,* Vol. II, p. 98.
[12] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 288.
[13] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 325.
[14] See under James Gould.



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Class of 1804

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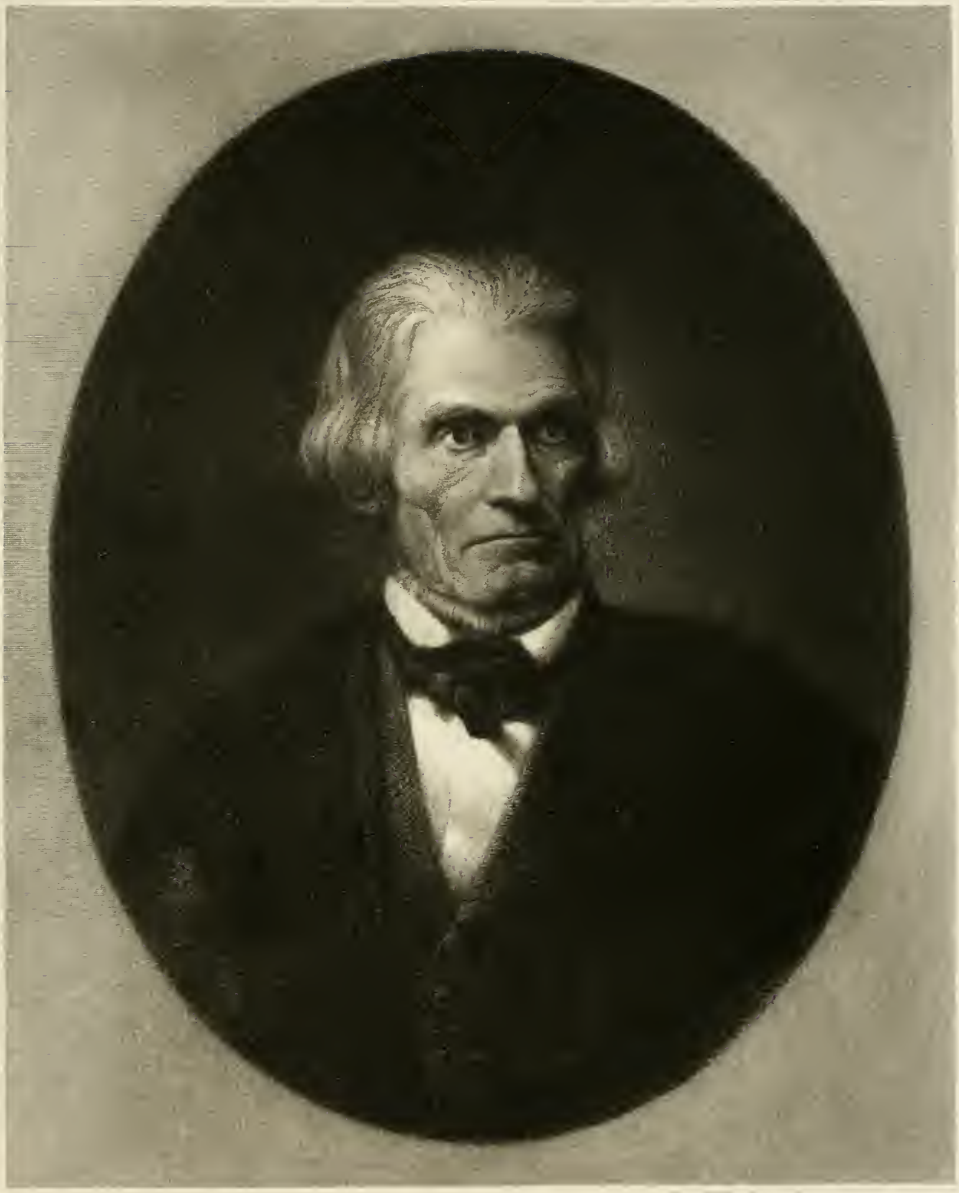

his sphere of action, but being a true Southerner, the state of South Carolina always held a specially large place in his heart. He continued in the House for seven years. He was then appointed Secretary of War by President Monroe, and remained in that position until 1825, when he became Vice-President of the United States. He presided over the Senate from 1825 until 1832, when he resigned to become a Senator from South Carolina, a post which he held until his death, except for two breaks of one year each when he resigned, the first time in anticipation of his nomination for the presidency, the second time to serve as Secretary of State in President Tyler's Cabinet.[15] Such was the external frame into which must be fitted the real life work of this extraordinary man. His influence on South Carolina in connection with the nullification proceedings, and the effect of his political doctrines on the foundation of the Southern Confederacy "have made his career historic, beyond perhaps that of any other Yale graduate of his century."[16]

In each of the posts which he held, Calhoun's political genius—for it was nothing short of this—created a deep impression. He was a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, and his reports were among the decisive factors leading to hostilities with England, as his later speeches were among the most telling forces in supporting the country's military arms in this War of 1812. Later, as Secretary of War, he showed, according to Mr. Clay, "transcendent talents." He reorganized the Department in the interest both of greater efficiency and economy, drawing up the bill which passed Congress, and which laid down certain new principles of administration continued to this day. His system was so admirably put into force that the expense per man in the army was reduced more than one-third, without loss of comfort or of ability. As Secretary of State he did much to pave the way for the incorporation in the Union of the great territories in the Northwest

[15] He also twice declined the appointment of Minister to England, from Adams, in 1819, and from Polk, in 1845.

[16] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. V, p. 635.

and Southwest, which ultimately became the states of Oregon and Texas. But important as these public services were, they were not the main work of his life. It was decreed that his greatest efforts at statesmanship should be worked out in the Senate Chamber. During his long term as presiding officer of the Senate, he had time for a profound study of political problems. One result was his publication, in 1828, of his *Exposition and Protest.* This paper, with slight modifications, was promulgated by the legislature of South Carolina, which believed with its author that the tariff, as just revised in the interest of "protection," would be disastrous to his native state. It involved and asserted the right of a state to veto a Federal law, and is one of the important documents in the history of the controversy which prepared the way for the South Carolina Nullification Ordinance of 1832. Another result was his study and mastery of what he believed to be the weaknesses of Henry Clay's "American System"—with its protective tariff, national bank, "general welfare" emphasis in constitutional interpretation, and federal activity in internal improvements. In opposition to these policies he and Jackson were the Democratic leaders, although they became alienated through an unfortunate quarrel. It was his masterly championing of the extreme state-rights doctrine which led to the great debate with Webster on Calhoun's resolution:

> That the people of the several states comprising these United States are united as parties to a constitutional compact, to which the people of each state acceded, as a separate and sovereign community each binding itself by its own particular ratification; and that the union, of which the said compact is the bond, is a union between the states ratifying the same.[17]

It was against these resolutions that Webster hurled his eloquent and resistless logic, denying both Calhoun's "compact" premises and his "nullification" conclusions. Unquestionably the latter's speeches and addresses, even though in support of what is now considered to have been an erroneous doctrine, did much to clarify the issue. Fortunately there were other more abiding political principles for which he fought.

[17] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. I, p. 500.

In August, 1842, he closed a forceful speech in favor of Democratic theories with these words: "The great popular party is already rallied almost *en masse* around the banner which is leading the party to its final triumph. . . . . On that banner is inscribed: Free trade; low duties; no debt; separation from banks; economy; retrenchment, and strict adherence to the constitution. . . . ."[18] These, together with state sovereignty and the guarding of minority rights, were the main political principles for which he battled. Being an ardent Southerner he was naturally also a defender of slavery.

By the common consent of political historians, Calhoun, Clay, and Webster were the three outstanding American statesmen of their generation. It is interesting to know what the last two—both his political opponents—thought of the first. They united in paying the highest tribute to his character, his integrity, and his patriotism. Clay said: "He possessed an elevated genius of the highest order. In felicity of generalization of the subjects of which his mind treated I have seen him surpassed by no one."[19] Webster called him "a man of undoubted genius and of commanding talent."[20] His speeches, and his two works on political philosophy, *A Disquisition on Government,* and *A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States,* fully confirm these estimates. For sheer intellectual force and unyielding logic of political thought, he has probably not been equaled among the public men of America. His place in history is due to his commanding influence in preparing the way for the Confederacy. As Justice McLean wrote to ex-President Monroe, in 1831: "Calhoun . . . . has been infatuated with his Southern doctrines. In him they originated."[21]

There is a contemporary miniature of Calhoun by Trumbull in the Yale School of the Fine Arts. It was painted in 1827. In the opinion of the editor his most interesting memorials at Yale are his letters to President Day, preserved in the University Library. In

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 501. [19] *Ibid.*, p. 503. [20] *Ibid.*, p. 503.
[21] Schouler, *History of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 442.

one of these, acknowledging the receipt of the Doctor of Laws degree, Calhoun wrote:

> In the prosperity of the venerable and noble institution, over which you preside, and with which I am connected by so endearing a tie, I take the deepest interest. I feel it to be the duty of all of her sons to act in a manner worthy of her illustrious reputation, and that I have, in the opinion of one so capable of forming a correct opinion, in some degree so acted, is to me a source of much gratification.[22]

He wrote again, in 1826, ending with these words:

> I consider it, as one of the fortunate incidents of my life, that early inclination led me to the selection of Yale as the place of my education, and have never ceased to feel towards it, and those connected with it, sentiments of my esteem and gratitude.[23]

And the following year he proved his loyalty by trying to arrange to have his son enter the College.

In his *Historical Discourse,* delivered at Commencement, 1850, President Woolsey referred to Calhoun as "that eminent southern statesman, whose depth of thought and earnest purpose, united to large political experience, disinterestedness and independence, gave him unlimited sway over the minds of such as embraced his views of the Constitution."[24]

John C. Calhoun, by Professor Von Holst, is the most suggestive sketch of his political life and influence. There are several other good biographies, while his *Correspondence* was published in a large volume, in 1900, by the American Historical Association.

Washington
27th May 1834

Gentlemen,

I have been honoured by your note, inviting me in the name of the citizens of Fredericksburg, Falmouth & their vicinity to attend a Festival on the 31st Inst in celebration of the result of the late election in Virginia.

Regarding the result of your late election, as indicating the commencement of a salutary change in the publick sentiment of the state, I heartily

[22] Letter to President Day, December 2, 1822.
[23] Letter to President Day, December 14, 1826.
[24] Woolsey, *Historical Discourse,* p. 77.

approve of the object of your festival, and would with pleasure attend, were I not restrained by a rule, on that I have acted for years; to decline all invitations to political meetings, & that was adopted for reasons unnecessary to be explained on the present occasion.

Tho' sufficient has been done to excite joy, it would be a fatal error to suppose, that victory is already achieved, and our liberty secured. Much has been done, but much more still remains to be done. Let us not deceive ourselves. Our political system is deeply diseased; and nothing short of a thorough change permeating every Department of the Government, can restore our institutions to a healthy condition. It would be a tedious task to undertake to point out the many political diseases under which the country is suffering: To justify what I have asserted, it is sufficient to remark, that the publick funds are still under the sole & exclusive custody of the President, with scarcely a prospect of restoring them to the dominion of the laws, under which they were intended to be placed by the constitution; that the currency is greatly deranged to the deep injury of the industry & commerce of the country; that the publick disbursements are great & profuse beyond example, and still on the increase; while the publick income is on the decline; which, if continued, must soon bring us to the period, when the Government must, to meet its current disbursements, be compelled to lay new duties, or to borrow money, and thus commence a new debt, at the moment of paying off the old. In such a state of things, it would be folly to consider what has been offered to be more than a mere commencement of the great work of arresting usurpation & correcting abuses; and which I trust will continue to progress, till the body politick shall be restored to a sound & healthy condition. To leave the work half done, would be to do nothing at all.

In conclusion, I take the liberty to offer the following sentiment.

Our political institutions, they cannot be preserved, without maintaining sacredly the distribution of power, established by the Constitution, and rigid economy and accountability; may the work of regeneration progress, till usurpation, from whatever quarter shall be put down, and not a cent be uselessly expended, or without being duly accounted for.

With great respect
I am & &
J. C. Calhoun

John S. Wellford Esq^{r}
& other members of the Committee.

This letter dates from the time when the new Whig party was forming in opposition to President Jackson. It was on October 1,

1833, that the latter had ordered the deposits removed from the United States Bank. This was the event which brought to a head the charge of executive usurpation. Many of Calhoun's favorite political doctrines appear in this letter: his emphasis on the distribution of powers under the Constitution, his opposition to high duties and to federal extravagance, his growing mistrust of the Democratic party, and his bitter hostility to every form of encroachment by the President on the powers of Congress, or of the states.

JOHN MIDDLETON CLAYTON
Class of 1815

Born, July 24, 1796; Died, November 9, 1856
Secretary of State

The name of Secretary Clayton is principally remembered today because of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, which he negotiated for the American government, but there was a time when he was a national figure in political life, and recognized as one of the country's ablest statesmen.

He was born in Dagsborough, Delaware, and prepared for college in the schools of Milford, entering Yale when fifteen years old. As an undergraduate he made a reputation for high scholarship, strict attention to work, and much social charm, graduating with distinguished honor, and with the warm attachment of his classmates. Professor Silliman, who was one of his instructors, speaks of him as "a brilliant scholar, and an elegant and beautiful young man,"[1] while in a congressional tribute to his memory it is stated

> that, during the four years he was a student and member of Yale College, he never missed a single recitation; never once absented himself from prayers, morning or evening; never, during the whole four years, was once absent from church; and never, upon any occasion, violated a single rule or law of the college.[2]

It is improbable that these statements can be substantiated, but enough is known to account for their currency, and to show that his record was in every way highly creditable.

Clayton joined Brothers in Unity, and in spite of the fact that he was early dismissed from the society "at his own request,"[3] he was readmitted in Sophomore year. He took a prominent part in its work, and was elected its Valedictory Orator. Here are some entries from its records:

1 Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman*, Vol. II, p. 97.
2 Comegys, *Memoir of John M. Clayton*, p. 306.
3 MS. Records of Brothers in Unity for July 22, 1812.

The Senior Reader Mr. Clayton afforded us much amusement with his compositions & did himself much honour as he does generally.[4]

The Senior Reader however did himself great honour—as usual—not only entertained the society very agreably but did much to maintain its high standing.[5]

His prominence in the class was shown at the Junior Exhibition when he delivered an address on Military Glory, and took the part of Young Easy in a comedy entitled "The Pedantic Lawyer, or the Young Gentleman from College." At graduation he was assigned an important part—an Oration "On the Evils resulting from too exalted Expectations." The records of the Phi Beta Kappa Society also refer to him in his Senior year as "the regular chairman."

Rev. Dr. Sprague in his address before the alumni, in 1860, told this amusing story about his "bright, kind-hearted, impulsive" and "much-loved classmate":

After years of separation, during which our relations in life had undergone many changes, I arrived late in the evening at a hotel in New Jersey, and stopped for the night. As I entered my chamber, I saw a bed before me already occupied; and the instant the occupant heard my voice he gave one hearty, ungraceful bound, which brought him to my arms—and it was Jack Clayton. It is needless to say that we had Yale College in our chamber during most of the night.[6]

A student in Clayton's law office has borne similar witness to his keen enjoyment of college life and its memories, which he recalled "with a zest impossible to describe":

He was full of fun of all the kinds enjoyed by college boys; and being, at a very early age, a good performer on the violin, was sought after by the students, and was friends with all of them whose society he desired to cultivate. But of all his companions none stood so high in his affections as a little fellow, a year behind him in age and studentship, George McClellan[7] of Philadelphia, afterwards the famous surgeon, and the father of the present Governor of New Jersey. I have seen the two together whilst Clayton lived at New Castle; and it was entertaining, to a degree I cannot give you any adequate idea of, to be present when these two brilliant men, greatly distinguished in their respective careers, forgot all their

[4] *Ibid.*, for November 16, 1814.

[5] *Ibid.*, for December 14, 1814.

[6] Sprague, *Influence of Yale College on American Civilization.* Reprinted in Barnard, *American Journal of Education*, Vol. X, pp. 683, 684.

[7] Father of General McClellan and grandfather of Mayor McClellan. George McClellan (B.A. 1816) was one of the most eminent surgeons of his day.

rank and consequence in what a great poet calls a *revivescence* of their college life—those school days which Thackeray, speaking from his affectionate and tender heart, calls "the happy, the bright, the unforgotten."[8]

It is clear that Clayton was specially marked as an undergraduate by those strong qualities of heart, mind, and will which characterized him later, and made it possible for him to become a political leader of large and useful influence.

After graduation he studied law, completing his professional training by two years at the Litchfield School, then at the height of its fame. Here he worked hard—sixteen hours a day[9]—and laid the foundations of his mastery of legal principles, which quickly enabled him to rise to prominence at the Bar. In 1824 he began his political career by going to the legislature. Subsequently he was Secretary of State of Delaware, a member of the State Constitutional Convention, and Chief Justice. He was in the United States Senate from 1829 to 1837, and from 1845 to his death, except for a short period when he was Secretary of State. It is not the place to review in detail his senatorial career, but the testimony of his colleague from Massachusetts, William H. Seward, may appropriately be quoted:

> Those who shall now read, as I am sure posterity will read, the recorded debates of the Senate for the period embraced within the last twenty-five years, will find that, although surrounded by mighty men in argument and speech, John M. Clayton was one among the few effective statesmen who determined or influenced the administration of the government of this great country.[10]

Clayton's most conspicuous work was in the field of diplomacy. When General Zachary Taylor became President, in 1849, he realized his lack of political experience, and consequently composed his Cabinet from men of long service in Congress. Clayton was given the State portfolio and was generally considered the strongest single factor in the administration. It fell to his lot to negotiate with Great Britain a treaty which would make possible the construction of an

[8] Comegys, *Memoir of John M. Clayton, Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, IV, pp. 14, 15.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 16. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 296.

interoceanic canal across a neutralized Isthmus of Panama on terms of equality to all nations. The fact that this treaty was abrogated a half century later by the Hay-Pauncefote agreement does not diminish the credit that should be given him for successfully concluding negotiations on such a broad and friendly basis that one distinguished statesman has referred to it as "the first universal fact—a fact indicating the ultimate union of the nations. . . . ."[11] If his diplomacy erred it was because his views of international relations were ahead of the times, not behind them. Had President Taylor lived, and had Clayton's term as Secretary of State been extended, it is confidently believed that his comprehensive, astute, and vigorous mind would have enabled him to complete an even more distinguished career as a diplomat.

There is no memorial of Secretary Clayton at the University, but the following letter from President Day, written to him near the close of his first term in the Senate, may serve to hand down to future generations the high estimate in which he was held by his Alma Mater:

Yale College, Aug. 25, 1836.

Dear Sir:—It is with no ordinary pleasure that I have the privilege of stating to you that the corporation of this college, at our late public commencement, conferred on you the degree of Doctor of Laws. I am well aware that these academic titles are in danger of losing their distinction, by being distributed with too lavish a hand. But this college aims to proceed on the principle of selecting those who will *confer* honor, rather than receive it, by being enrolled in the list of its favorites. We present to you this expression of our regard, not with the expectation of elevating the rank which you already hold in public estimation, but as a just tribute of respect to distinguished merit. I have the honor to be, with high and affectionate regard,

Your friend and servant,

J. Day.[12]

The *Memoir of John M. Clayton,* by Joseph P. Comegys, published as Volume IV of the *Papers of the Historical Society of*

[11] Charles Sumner. *Ibid.,* p. 298.
[12] *Ibid.,* p. 136.

Delaware, gives an interesting account of his life, character, and services, from the standpoint of an ardent admirer.

Department of State,
Washington, July 17, 1850.

To the respective Diplomatic and Consular
Agents of the United States, in Europe.

Sir,

The bearer of this letter is Thurlow Weed, Esqr, a distinguished citizen of the state of New York. Mr. Weed has, for many years, been the editor of one of the ablest Journals in this country. He is a gentleman, for whom I entertain the highest respect and esteem, and, as such, I beg to introduce him to you and to commend him to your kind offices and attention.

Very respectfully
Your obt. svt.
JOHN M. CLAYTON

This letter was written a week after President Taylor's death, but before Daniel Webster had succeeded Clayton as Secretary of State. Thurlow Weed was at the time editing the *Albany Evening Journal.* Although he declined to accept public office, he was one of the most influential political leaders in the country.

Samuel Jones Tilden

Class of 1837

Born, February 9, 1814; Died, August 4, 1886

Governor of New York, and Democratic Candidate for Presidency

Samuel J. Tilden left Yale before the close of Sophomore year, so people have often overlooked his New Haven connection, but he considered himself a Yale man, and his only academic degree was from the University.

He was born in New Lebanon, New York, where his father was a farmer and merchant. Martin Van Buren was a family friend, and consequently young Tilden was accustomed to hear politics warmly and intelligently discussed in his early youth. Just before entering college he had identified himself with the Democrats by preparing a manifesto of party principles that was used in the state campaign. Throughout his brief undergraduate career he kept in close touch with the political issues of the day. Tilden was matriculated with the Class of 1837, in the last quarter of their Freshmen year. He had suffered much from ill health and had hesitated between a private tutor and a college education. Finally he decided to go to New Haven and was most anxious to excel among his fellow students. He wrote his father: "I never would make *mediocrity* my aim in anything, certainly anything of this kind; low indeed is his standard who seeks a mere equality with his fellows. . . . ."[1] The competition was keen, for the class was remarkable for the number of men of ability who later gained national prominence in public life: Tilden as the candidate of his party for the presidency, Waite as Chief Justice, Pierrepont as Attorney General, and Evarts as Secretary of State. These facts are commemorated in some doggerel verses read at the fiftieth anniversary of the class. They are from the pen

[1] Bigelow, *Life of Samuel J. Tilden,* Vol. I, p. 31.

of Rev. George Duffield (B.A. 1837), well known for his hymns and occasional poems:

But why this Class so "famous"? As yet it is not told,
So lend to me attentive ears, while I the tale unfold.
As when a Patriarch's wife they sought, and couldn't elsewhere pair 'em,
They brought the dromedaries out, and rode to Padan-aram:
So Uncle Sam, when days were dark, with lantern straight proceeded,
At once to Yale and Thirty-seven, and found the man he needed.
Waite! Pierrepont! Evarts! first he called, and then through all the building,
From cellar unto garret, full loudly called for Tilden!
Sam said the White House fairly was his place,
But for old Zach, who jockeyed in the race.
Lis est sub judice,—well, let it pass,
If great the loss for Sam, 'twas greater for the Class.
To-day, at least, we call them our Big Four,
And challenge any class hereafter—to do more![2]

Tilden did not room in college, but had lodgings with a Mr. Gardner on Court Street, below the Tontine Hotel. He started boarding in Commons, but the menu of the day did not satisfy his very delicate digestion:

I am nearly convinced that I shall be obliged to give up boarding at Commons. I have had two days' experience, and will give you our bill of fare. Day before yesterday morning we had a dish of meat, very fresh bread and butter, coffee, and nothing else whatever. At dinner, boiled shad and potatoes, fresh bread and butter and rice pudding, enough for those who could eat such things. At tea, fresh bread and butter and cheese and some molasses cake, which by the bye, comes only occasionally. The next morning, shad and potatoes and fresh bread and butter again. Either of these articles I could sometimes eat, but could not do it constantly. I have not been as well as common for a few days; and when I study, it is necessary to diet with more care than when engaged in other employments, or in nothing. The bread has been uniformly newly baked, and, as I think of all the New Haven bread I have seen, slackly baked, and yesterday it was scarcely cold; and I could procure no other. I shall see to-day what I can do, and unless I can be assured of well-done and stale bread shall board with Mr. Goodman. Perhaps it is best to do so at once. The butter is pretty good.[3]

Commons has been a favorite object of undergraduate criticism at Yale for almost two centuries—as indeed it is always apt to be at every college—but Tilden's attack differs from most. It is mainly

[2] *Record of the Class of 1837*, Seventh Edition, 1887, p. 16.
[3] Bigelow, *Life of Samuel J. Tilden*, Vol. I, p. 47.

based on the fact that the bread is not sufficiently stale! A week after writing this letter to his father he sends him word that he has moved to a private boarding house, and that as a result, his "health is decidedly better and improving." Horseback riding was also resorted to, to build up his constitution, but according to Hon. John Bigelow, "the diet, the climate and the confinement affected him so unfavorably that, when he went home for the Christmas holidays [of Sophomore year], he was so completely broken down in health that it was decided he should not return."[4] The climate of New Haven has its limitations. As Dr. Holmes said, in New England we have no weather, only samples, but it seems unnecessary for the distinguished biographer of Tilden to have singled out this ancient and healthy town for special notoriety on this account.

So Tilden's stay at Yale was brief, and the College's influence upon him was relatively small. The official letter informing him, in July, 1875, of his degree from the University, was from Secretary Dexter, and read as follows:

> I have the honor to inform you in an official way that the President and Fellows of this college at the recent public commencement conferred upon you the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and in connection with that act enrolled you with the academical graduates of the college in the class of 1837.
>
> In thus recognizing the eminent public services which have so abundantly deserved the honorable regard of all public-spirited men, the corporation are especially proud to recall the fact that the foundations of your educational training were in part laid here, and to claim you in virtue of this former connection as an alumnus of Yale. . . . .[5]

After fitting himself for the Bar, partly at the University of New York, he began his legal career in the metropolis. He served

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 273. Mr. Tilden's reply—preserved in the Library—does not indicate any special devotion to the University:

"Your letter, officially apprizing me that the President and Fellows of Yale College, at their recent public commencement, conferred upon me the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws and in connection with that enrolled me with the academical graduates of the College in the class of 1837, has been received.

"I beg you, Sir, to convey to the Corporation my very respectful and grateful acknowledgement of these distinguished marks of favorable consideration, and cordially to thank the President and Fellows, in my name, for the flattering expressions of regard, which they have been pleased to tender through you, for myself and whatever of public service I may have been able to render."

in the State Assembly, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1846, was at one time or another counsel for most of the great railroad companies of the Middle Atlantic and North Central States, and was one of the founders of the New York Bar Association. He was recognized as a great corporation lawyer. But his activity at the Bar did not prevent his maintaining and increasing his interest in public and political affairs. He was becoming the recognized leader of the New York Democracy, while his vigorous and successful opposition to the Tweed Ring, and to the perversion of justice by corrupt judges in the state, made him a national figure in political reform.

In 1874, he was the successful Democratic candidate for Governor of New York, winning over Governor John A. Dix by a plurality of fifty thousand votes. It was a brilliant victory, and it was followed by a stirring message to the legislature on public extravagance and corruption, that formed the prelude to a highly creditable term as chief executive of the state. Efficiency and economy were two of the matters on which he laid most emphasis during his administration.

In 1876 he was nominated for the presidency of the United States by the National Democratic Convention in St. Louis. His campaign was conducted almost entirely on the need of a thorough reform in the government service, which had become demoralized in Grant's second term. The popular vote for Tilden was 4,284,265, and for Hayes 4,033,295, while the official vote, as finally determined by the Electoral Commission, on strictly party lines, gave Hayes one hundred and eighty-five votes, and Tilden one hundred and eighty-four. This is not the place to record the details of the contest. Suffice it to say that Tilden had one hundred and eighty-four votes on the original count, Hayes one hundred and eighty-two, with three doubtful states under "Carpet-bag" governments. The Republicans, therefore, required for success every elector from the contested states, Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina. They got them, although the verdict of history is that, at least in Louisiana, the Tilden elector

had been legally chosen. So he lost the presidency by a single vote, but his conduct under the most trying circumstances was so restrained, honorable, and patriotic, that the esteem in which he was held was increased rather than diminished.

In 1880, and again in 1884, pressure was brought to bear upon him to lead the Democratic forces a second time, but he declined. His later years were spent quietly, reading being his main resource. Tilden was a distinguished lawyer, but he left three monuments greater than any private success at the Bar. First, he stirred the public conscience, and raised the standard of municipal life, by his vigorous and successful prosecution of the corrupt Tammany Ring under Boss Tweed; second, he led in the movement to recreate an historical national party, which was again put on its feet by his success as Governor of New York and by his candidacy for the presidency; and third, being a bachelor, he left by will the bulk of his fortune[6] of many million dollars to New York City for a public library.

It was not until the publication of *Writings and Speeches of Samuel J. Tilden, Life of Samuel J. Tilden,* and *Letters and Literary Memorials of Samuel J. Tilden,* important volumes by Hon. John Bigelow, that most people fully realized how cultivated and high-minded a man, and how broad-gauge a statesman the subject of this sketch really was.

(Confidential)

New York Jan 7 1866

Hon.

H. A. Smythe

My Dear Sir,

William T. McGrath, Esq.—is the name of the gentleman,—residing at 221 East 18th street,—of whom I spoke to you in respect to an Inspectorship

[6] Hon. John Bigelow shortly before his death wrote to the author, in response to an inquiry, saying that he had never heard Mr. Tilden refer to the possibility of making Yale his main beneficiary. Mr. Bigelow apparently did not believe the oft-repeated rumor, that remarks condemnatory of his candidacy for the presidency, from high Yale sources, diverted Mr. Tilden's money from Yale to the New York Public Library. It is known, however, that he was offended by the strong opposition of the majority of the College community to his presidential candidacy.

of the Customs,—unless, indeed, you have something better to bestow. I recommend Mr. M. G., without qualification, and take a special personal interest in his appointment.

Very truly,

S. J. Tilden

This letter makes a good exhibition piece but it is of little intrinsic value. It is difficult to find holographic letters of Tilden that contain interesting contents. American political conditions in the middle of the nineteenth century—prior to the days of Civil Service Reform—are reflected by the fact that so large a proportion of the letters of the most representative public men which find their way to autograph auctions, have to do with requests for office. This letter was written in the year when Tilden's capacity for party leadership was recognized by his election to the chairmanship of the New York State Democratic Committee.

III. SUPPLEMENTARY NAMES

Philip Livingston (Class of 1737), Born, 1716; Died, 1778.

Philip Livingston was one of the most consistent patriots in New York both immediately preceding and during the Revolution. He was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, and was unanimously elected Speaker of the Provincial Assembly, later serving as its President. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1774 until his death, and in this capacity signed the Declaration of Independence. In addition to this he should be specially remembered as a member of the Committee on Correspondence of the New York Assembly, from which Edmund Burke derived his enlightened views of American conditions. It was at his residence on Brooklyn Heights that Washington held the Council of War which decided on the retreat from Long Island. He was a public-spirited citizen, one of the founders of the New York Society Library, and of the Chamber of Commerce, and a member of the first board of governors of the New York Hospital.

The autograph is a document signed by Livingston shortly after he joined the New York Board of Aldermen in the autumn of 1754. This was before Stamp Act days as the loyal document, addressed to the Sheriff, and calling a "sessions of the peace," witnesses:

. . . . Greeting on Behalf of our said Lord the King, we Command you that you omitt not, for any Liberties within your Bailwick, But that you enter the same and Cause to Come before us and our associates, Justices of the Peace, ... Twenty four honest and Lawfull men of the said City and County, every one whereof hath at the Least in yearly Rents of Lands & Tenements forty shillings by the year and then and there to enquire upon their Oaths of such things which on Behalf of our Lord the King shall be there enjoyned. . . . .

Lewis Morris (Class of 1746), Born, 1726; Died, 1798.

Morris' biographer informs us that "at the age of sixteen he was sent to Yale College, where, under the care of the learned and pious Dr. Clap, he was taught the learned languages and mathematics; and his youthful mind was imbued with the lessons of morality and religion."[1] But evidently his father

[1] Robert Waln, Jr., *Biographies of the Signers,* Vol. IX, p. 121.

thought otherwise, for in his will, dated 1760, he left special injunctions that his younger son, Gouverneur Morris, should not go to Connecticut for his education, "lest in his youth he should imbibe that low craft and cunning so incident to the people of that country."[2]

The high social rank of his family gave him the first position in his class list. After leaving college (his degree was not conferred until 1790) he led the life of a successful farmer, as third Lord of the Morrisania estate. In 1775, he was elected to the Continental Congress. There he signed the Declaration of Independence, well knowing that this would make his extensive country estate a special object of attack by the British soldiers. He rendered important service as a member of the Committee, of which Washington was chairman, to consider ways and means of securing arms and military supplies for the army. Morris also served the cause of the colonies as a Brigadier General of Militia, and as the agent of Congress to try to detach the Indian tribes from loyalty to Britain.

The document accompanying Morris' engraving is a receipt for money due him, in April, 1778, for attending sixty-seven sessions of the New York Senate. For this he received "One hundred and thirty-four Dollars," then the equivalent, according to the paper, of fifty-three pounds and twelve shillings.

Lyman Hall (Class of 1747), Born, 1724; Died, 1790.

Although born and educated in Connecticut his life is identified with the Colony of Georgia, where he was foremost in the movement which led to an independent state government. He was a minister and a doctor, but his reputation rests entirely on his patriotic and intelligent statesmanship. He was one of Yale's four Signers of the Declaration of Independence, of whom three were in college at the same time. His five years in the Continental Congress were soon followed by his election as first Governor of his adopted state. These two characteristic sentences make up over a half of his brief inaugural address:

The early and decided part which I took in the cause of America originated from a full conviction of the justice and rectitude of the cause we engaged in, has uniformly continued as the principle of my heart, and I trust will to the last moments of my life.

If I can, by a strict attention to the various objects of government, and a steady and impartial exertion of the powers with which you have invested me,

[2] The will is in Surrogate's Office, New York, Liber 23, p. 426.

carry into execution the wise and salutary laws of the State, it will afford a pleasing prospect of our future welfare, brighten the dawn of independence, and establish the genuine principles of whigism on a firm and permanent foundation.[3]

A bounty certificate filled in and signed by Hall as Governor, is appended. It states "That Thomas Lestor a Soldier in the Georgia Line is entitled to one hundred Acres of Land, as a Bounty, agreeable to an Act and Resolve of the General Assembly, ... and to one hundred acres by the Resolution of Congress."

Theodore Sedgwick (Class of 1765), Born, 1746; Died, 1813.

Sedgwick had his collegiate training at Yale. It included a good lesson in the need of regarding the rights of property, for he was fined several shillings for an escapade in Connecticut Hall. He broke into a tutor's bin, and upset some of his cider "which damnified the cellar"![4]

After graduating he pursued professional studies in divinity under Dr. Bellamy (q.v.), and in law under Mark Hopkins (B.A. 1758), the grandfather of President Hopkins of Williams. His college course was made possible by the self-sacrifice of his older brother, who turned from farming to tavern-keeping that he might secure the necessary money.

In his later career he was one of Massachusetts' ablest and most patriotic men. He was an aide to General Thomas in the Revolution, and was one of the leaders in the suppression of Shays' Rebellion. He was a member of the Continental Congress, United States Senator from Massachusetts (being President *pro tempore* of the Senate, in 1797), and Speaker of the National House of Representatives. For the last ten years of his life he was a distinguished Judge of his state's Supreme Court. Both Harvard and Princeton honored themselves by conferring upon him their highest degrees. His daughter was the well-known authoress, Catherine Sedgwick, while his eldest son (B.A. 1798) became an eminent lawyer.

The letter is a protest against the condition of the road to Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1801. This "is very bad owing in a particular manner to the innumerable small stone, and very many of them loose in the path . . . . the road . . . . should be much more crowning which would prevent the necessity of the large (too large) Ridges across your path. . . . ." Most excellent advice even today.

[3] Jones, *Biographical Sketches of the Delegates from Georgia to the Continental Congress*, p. 101.

[4] *New Haven Colony Historical Society Papers*, Vol. VII, pp. 289, 290.

NATHANIEL CHIPMAN (Class of 1777), Born, 1752; Died, 1853.

This eminent jurist and statesman began his public career when a Yale undergraduate. As a Sophomore he published a poem which contained these lines:

> Rise! sons of freedom! close the glorious fight,
> Stand for religion, for your country's right.
> Resist the tyrant, disappoint his hopes,
> Fear not his navies, or his veteran troops.[5]

Accordingly he left college in Senior year, having obtained a lieutenant's commission. He wrote to his classmate Cogswell from the field:

> But I no more Parnassus tread
> A foolish whim has turned my head,
> The Muse has lost her wonted charms
> And I am rushing on to arms.[6]

Judge Chipman was not only an all-round scholar at Yale, but he spent his time wisely in making use of the larger privileges of the institution, especially the Library. Here is his own advice based on his college experience:

If you calculate to become a scholar of any distinction, solely by studying your lessons, so as to appear well at your recitations, you will be sadly disappointed. Or if you pursue your studies without system, reading this or that, as you may be prompted by the feelings of the moment, you will only dissipate the mind. You will never either discipline the mind, or lay up in order any store of useful knowledge. If you calculate only from day to day to get your recitations, you will sit down to them as a task, and will not acquire a taste for your studies, or take any pleasure in pursuing them; and if you do not, it will be better to quit your studies, no matter how soon. Whereas if you pursue your studies systematically and with diligence, not confining yourself to your recitations, but keeping in advance of them, in all your classical studies, and spending but a short time in reviewing them, you will be far more likely to acquire a taste for your studies and pursue them, not as a dreaded task, but as a most pleasant enjoyment.[7]

After seeing two years of active service he studied law, and rose steadily to prominence. Among the posts which he filled with honor were the Chief Justiceship of Vermont, the United States District Judgeship of the same state, by appointment of Washington, and the United States Senatorship. He was a commissioner to negotiate the admission of his native state to the Union, and later to determine the long-standing boundary dispute with New York. He was also Professor of Law in Middlebury College, and the author

[5] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 11.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 85.
[7] *Life of Hon. Nathaniel Chipman*, pp. 10, 11.

of legal and political works, including *Sketches of the Principles of Government*, an important early publication in its field. Little wonder that Vermont erected a monument to his memory, with this inscription: "A principal founder of the civil institutions of this State, and framer of its fundamental laws."

The letter, written from Tinmouth, in 1818, is devoted to business matters.

RETURN JONATHAN MEIGS (Class of 1785), Born, 1764; Died, 1825.

Meigs inherited his extraordinary name. The University Library has a rare poem by the subject of this sketch, written in his Junior year and "spoken in the Chapel of Yale-College, at the Quarterly Exhibitions, March 9th, 1784." It was his only literary effort—aside from official papers—as his life was one of constant occupation with public affairs. He had his initiation into them by being prominent in the undergraduate community, presiding, for instance, as Master of Ceremonies, at the Linonia anniversary in his Senior year. He was the first Chief Justice of the state of Ohio, was Governor of the state and its representative in the United States Senate, also Postmaster General of the United States for almost ten years, under both Madison and Monroe. He was an ardent patriot, holding a commission in the army, and participating in many early Indian fights, while during the War of 1812, as Governor of Ohio, he made a national reputation for his exceptional efficiency in assisting the military authorities.

The collection contains an interesting letter, written in 1800, when Meigs was United States Senator. It is addressed to Hon. George Tod (B.A. 1795), a Judge of the Ohio Supreme Court: "Congress adjourns on the 28th instant. There has been an uncommon degree of Harmony manifested this session—On the amendment to the non Intervention Act (so as to adopt it to the recent Change in our Foreighn [sic] relations) the Senate were unanimous."

JOHN DAVIS (Class of 1812), Born, 1787; Died, 1854.

"Honest John Davis" is one of the large number of men discussed in these pages who felt under special obligations to the teachings and character of President Dwight. He was an eminent Worcester lawyer who served ten years in Congress as a Whig, and two terms each as Governor of Massachusetts and United States Senator. He was noted for practical sagacity, independence, and spotless integrity, and carried great weight in political councils. His opposition to slavery cost him the nomination for the vice-presidency, in

1844, but it was Henry Clay's intention, if elected President, to make him Secretary of the Treasury. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, although eclipsed in brilliancy by many senatorial colleagues, there were few men in New England public life who equaled him in character, ability, and influence, especially on financial legislation.

"The future biographer of Governor Davis," said the *New York Tribune* in discussing his death, "will do him injustice if he fails to hold him up as a man eminently fitted for emergencies; as a man of clear judgment, resolute purpose, ready to act without apprehension, without equivocation, and without compromising. In these qualities he occupies a rank inferior to none of his contemporaries. . . . ."[8]

The exhibited letter is an inquiry from the Senate Chamber in December, 1839, regarding "the exaction of duties upon vessels engaged in the whale fishery."

Alphonso Taft (Class of 1833), Born, 1810; Died, 1891.

Alphonso Taft, father of the President (B.A. 1878), started the Taft tradition at Yale. He was one of the highest scholars in his class, and was a prominent and respected figure in undergraduate life. He delivered orations both at the Junior Exhibition, and at Commencement, the former on Political Integrity, the latter on Symmetry of Mental Culture. He always retained his deep interest in the University, from which his five sons were graduated, and of which he was at one time a tutor, and later one of the first "Alumni Fellows." Mr. Taft was an eminent Ohio lawyer, who was also a leading Republican, and an active and independent citizen. He was defeated for Congress and for the governorship, but served on the Superior Court of Cincinnati, as Secretary of War, Attorney General of the United States, and Minister to Austria, and later to Russia.

The letter, written from his law office in Cincinnati, in the autumn of 1877, is characteristic of the man's independence. It is directed to "Bob Ingersoll," and consistent with the principles of religious toleration of a good Unitarian, he defends Thomas Paine against what he believes to be the attacks of bigots.

"I was glad to see your letter, setting forth the character & death of Paine in the light of truth. I never believed the lies told of him by the '*o'er gude*' but had not investigated the facts. You have done the cause of truth & justice a great service, and altho' you may not stop their lying, you will break the

[8] Quoted by Hill, *Sermon on the Death of Hon. John Davis*, p. 25.

force of their lies. It is wonderful that Christianity shd be the cause of so much malice against good & just men. As to politics the prospects of the republican party are at present discouraging."

HENRY LAURENS DAWES (Class of 1839), Born, 1816; Died, 1903.

After graduation he taught school and edited country papers until his admission to the Bar, when he held in rapid succession various state offices. He entered Congress in 1857, and succeeded Charles Sumner in the Senate, in 1875. During his many terms in this body he was one of its most active and useful members, being specially efficient as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means. He will be mainly known to posterity as the head of the Dawes Indian Commission. "The entire system of Indian education due to legislation was created by Mr. Dawes."[9] He also did much to protect the Indians' rights, and secured the adoption of the bill making them subject to the criminal law and protected by it. His Alma Mater and Williams College both recognized his eminent services by conferring upon him the Doctor of Laws degree. He was a strong Protectionist—too much so to satisfy Yale's professors of economics—but he tried to live up to the ideal of his subject at the Junior Exhibition, "the ultimate triumph of moral and political truth." Referring to the University in later life he called himself "one of the most grateful of her children," and wrote that the graduate never so loses himself "in the outside world that he does not instinctively cleave to those who wear her signet as to a band of brothers."[10]

The autograph letter reflects the gloom in Washington in 1868, during the period of reconstruction: "I am full of anxiety and trouble. We are walking on the perilous edge of a precipice, a single miss step and we are lost—To turn back is impossible—to go forward is to enter a cloud of thick darkness, uncertainty and doubt—There will be no division in our ranks. We shall—because we must—go right on to the end, trusting in God—"

JOSEPH EMERSON BROWN (Class of 1846 Law), Born, 1821; Died, 1894.

The most casual reader of the large volume entitled *Life and Times of Joseph E. Brown,* cannot but be impressed with the character and intellectual power of one of the most marked figures in Southern politics during the middle of the nineteenth century. Wishing a better education than his native Georgia

[9] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. II, p. 107.
[10] Letter to Boston Alumni Association, January 24, 1873.

could give him, he came to New Haven, where, "having the advantage of a previous course of thorough and severe study of law, he was enabled to keep up with his law classes, and also found time to take a liberal literary course."[11] He always appreciated what his year at the Yale Law School—his only college training—meant to him, and throughout his life tried to encourage higher education. He founded a scholarship loan fund of fifty thousand dollars at the University of Georgia, writing to the Trustees: "I know from experience in early life the feelings of a youth desirous of educating himself without the means to do so; and the good fortune which a loan of money for support while engaged in study was considered as conferring upon the recipient."[12]

After attaining eminence at the Bar he held the posts of Governor of Georgia (throughout the war period), Chief Justice of the state, and United States Senator for two terms. Although his views of state rights made him a secessionist, no one in the South was more active and broad-minded after the war in trying to reëstablish the Union. His coöperation with the Washington authorities cost him much unpopularity and abuse at the time, but he had the satisfaction of regaining his position, and of being elected by a large majority to the national Senate after delivering a really remarkable address on the part he had played in reconstruction. This address,[13] his legal argument[14] in behalf of Tilden's election before the Florida electoral board, and his correspondence[15] with Jefferson Davis on the subject of conscription—which he opposed—show him to have been a man of exceptional capacity.

The letter in the collection was written in 1869. In it he says: "My duties as Chief Justice of my state occupy so large a proportion of my time as to leave me no leisure to prepare an address suitable to the occasion."

Benjamin Gratz Brown (Class of 1847), Born, 1826; Died, 1885.

Brown came to Yale from Transylvania University. He was conspicuous as a writer while in college, and was one of the editors of the "Lit." He was of good Southern stock, his family having been prominent in the public life both of Virginia and Kentucky. He settled in Missouri, where he attained prominence as a lawyer, and as an earnest anti-slavery advocate. As editor of the *Missouri Democrat*, a strong free-soil paper, he was the object of bitter attack, and showed much courage in enforcing his convictions. In 1857, he came within five hundred votes of election as Governor, as free-soil candidate, while in 1871 he was elected to the same position by a majority of forty

[11] Fielder, *Life and Times of Joseph E. Brown*, p. 98.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 572. [13] *Ibid.*, pp. 531-559. [14] *Ibid.*, p. 507. [15] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

thousand. He was one of General Lyon's most effective supporters in saving his state to the Union, and commanded troops on various occasions during the war. He was in the United States Senate from 1863 to 1867, and lent his powerful aid to the passage of Missouri's emancipation ordinance. In 1872, he was the defeated candidate for Vice-President of the United States on the ticket with Horace Greeley. He and Cassius Marcellus Clay (q.v.) may be taken as representatives of that small group of men inheriting Southern traditions, who fearlessly gave the government their aid in maintaining the Union and in putting an end to slavery.

In this letter, Brown, as a Yale undergraduate, writes to a Kentucky friend: "I have been here, now some eight months—and flatter myself that my time has not been entirely wasted— . . . . If you can find out any Kentuckian who has his own interest at heart and does not object to rising at six o'clock of a cold winter's morning, you will confer a great favor upon myself by sending him on immediately—"

In a speech at the first formal dinner of the Yale Alumni Association of St. Louis, he made this fine reference to the part which the University had played in his education:

> . . . . its primary virtue, so far as I can now judge in casting back over the past, was that with its many high advantages of learning, with its rare and ripe scholarship, with its pure minded Christian control, its vast power over the mental training of the student, was exerted to develop an individual independence of thought and inquiry, and not to train them with any sectarian or political faith. . . . . It was a kind of over-soul . . . . as much potential for elevating student life, as the actual courses of daily instruction.[16]

[16] St. Louis newspaper report, December, 1870.

CHAPTER VIII

LAWYERS AND JURISTS

I. THE UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO LAW AND JURISPRUDENCE

The recent development of the Harvard Law School—now considered by impartial authorities to be the most distinguished school of law in the world—has resulted in the partial overlooking of the contribution made by other institutions to American Jurisprudence. Looked at from the standpoint of the history of two hundred years it is doubtful if any of our universities has surpassed Yale in this respect. Mr. Thacher's address at the Bicentennial should be consulted by those wishing to read a lawyer's estimate of his Alma Mater's legal attainments, but even this able and delightful paper overlooks some important factors.

In the biographies which follow, four departments of the law are represented. It may be well to consider these separately under the work of the writer, the teacher, the advocate, and the judge, leaving legislation for the survey of statesmanship.

The writing of authoritative works on law is one of the most important contributions which can be made to human progress. It tends to strengthen those rights which the citizen and the state have acquired as a result of centuries of the best efforts of legislators and jurists, reinforced by public opinion. Yale's work in legal authorship of national significance began with Zephaniah Swift (B.A. 1778), for many years Chief Justice of Connecticut. In 1795-1796, he published *A System of the Laws of the State of Connecticut.* This was "the standard treatise on the laws and government" of the state,

and helped to give his utterances "the stamp of authority."[1] Of the revised edition of this work, published a generation later, an historian states that it "was long used to a considerable extent all over the United States, both in legal instruction and as an authority before the courts."[2]

It was followed, in 1826-1830, by Kent's *Commentaries on American Law,* the work of a graduate of the Class of 1781, and called by Judge Story "the first judicial classic." This and the twenty-three volumes embodying his decisions as Judge of the Supreme Court and Chancellor of New York State, ably reported by William Johnson (B.A. 1788), make his place in history secure as the American Blackstone. It was of the author of Kent's *Decisions* that Mr. Thacher quoted approvingly the statement of Judge Dillon, that he was, "more than any other person, the creator of the equity system of this country."

At least three other Yale legal writers besides Kent have long maintained a national reputation in some field of the law. They are: Theodore Dwight Woolsey (B.A. 1820), whose *Introduction to the Study of International Law* appeared first in 1860, Judah Philip Benjamin (Class of 1827), who published his *Treatise on the Law of Sale of Personal Property* in 1868, and Francis Wharton (B.A. 1839), among whose important legal works are *A Treatise on the Criminal Law of the United States,* 1846, and *Digest of International Law*, 1886.

The scientific teaching of law in America began with the Law School in Litchfield, Connecticut, of which a Princeton graduate, Judge Reeve, was the founder. This reached the height of its influence under James Gould (B.A. 1791), who, according to one of the foremost living authorities on legal history, was "the first in point of time of American lawyers who have made the teaching of

[1] Quotations from Simeon E. Baldwin's sketch of James Gould, in *Great American Lawyers,* p. 475.

[2] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. IV, p. 63.

law the main work of their lives."[3] The sketch of Gould which follows will give some idea of his influence as a teacher.

The Yale Law School, one of the oldest in the country, was affiliated to the College in 1824. It was in large measure the joint heir of the Litchfield School, and of a private school in New Haven successfully conducted for almost a quarter of a century by Seth Perkins Staples (B.A. 1797). Degrees were first conferred in 1843, since which time over two thousand Bachelors of Laws have been graduated. Before the granting of degrees the School had among its regular students many men who later became prominent as jurists, such as Theodore W. Dwight (Class of 1842), the real founder of the Columbia Law School, and a teacher of national influence; David Davis (Class of 1834), of the United States Supreme Court, who was elected President of the Senate on Garfield's assassination; and Edward John Phelps (Class of 1841), Kent Professor of Law, and Minister to England.

The School is abreast of the best principles of legal education, requiring membership in the Senior class of the College, or an academic degree elsewhere, for admission, and combining the text book and case systems, with main emphasis on the latter. No Department of the University has been conducted by men with a higher sense of responsibility to their profession. Among them have been four whose length of service and earnest work deserve special mention: Chief Justice David Daggett (B.A. 1783), Kent Professor of Law from 1826 to 1848, Governor Henry Dutton (B.A. 1818), who held a similar position from 1847 to 1869, Dean Francis Wayland (Hon. M.A. 1881), head of the School from 1873 to 1903, and Chief Justice Simeon Eben Baldwin (B.A. 1861), Professor of American Constitutional and Private International Law for forty years, beginning with 1872.

The University has graduated a succession of great advocates—men who have been specially successful in arguing important public

[3] Baldwin, in *Great American Lawyers*, p. 455.

causes before our highest tribunals. The list begins with William Smith (B.A. 1719), the first graduate of the College to practice law. He became the recognized leader of the New York Bar. From Smith's day to the present the line of distinguished Yale lawyers has never ceased. One of the last deaths to be recorded in the Quinquennial Catalogue was that of Lloyd Bowers (B.A. 1879), whose brilliant career as a counsel in the Middle West, and as Solicitor General of the United States, was about to be rewarded by elevation to the United States Supreme Court, when he was cut down in the prime of his manhood. Of the thousands of Yale advocates between the elder Smith and Bowers, two have been singled out for special mention, and their lives given at length—William M. Evarts (B.A. 1837) and Jeremiah Mason (B.A. 1788), the first one of the most brilliant, and the second one of the deepest legal minds the country has produced. And yet other Yale men have stood almost as high at the Bar, such as Jared Ingersoll (B.A. 1766) and Charles Chauncey (B.A. 1792) in Pennsylvania; Roger Minott Sherman (B.A. 1792) and Roger Sherman Baldwin (B.A. 1811) in Connecticut, and Daniel Lord (B.A. 1814) and Samuel J. Tilden (B.A. 1837) in New York.

To the work of the Judiciary, the University has also made marked contributions. The list includes two chief justices and seven associate justices of the United States Supreme Court—a full bench,[4] about forty other Federal judges, and some one hundred and fifty judges of State and Territorial Supreme Courts, representing almost every state in the Union, and including chief justices of all the New England[5] commonwealths except New Hampshire, and of New York,[6]

[4] Oliver Ellsworth (two years at Yale in Class of 1766, B.A. Princeton), Henry Baldwin (B.A. 1797), William Strong (B.A. 1828), Morrison R. Waite (B.A. 1837), William B. Woods (B.A. 1845), George Shiras (B.A. 1853), David J. Brewer (B.A. 1856), Henry B. Brown (B.A. 1856). Alexander Wolcott (B.A. 1778) and George Edmund Badger (B.A. 1813) were both nominated for the Supreme Court, but failed of confirmation by the Senate, while William Howard Taft (B.A. 1878) is known to have declined a nomination. David Davis completed his studies at the Yale Law School, being a member of the Class of 1834.

[5] Maine, John A. Peters (B.A. 1842); Vermont, Enoch Woodbridge (B.A. 1774), Israel Smith (B.A. 1781), Nathaniel Chipman (B.A. 1777); Rhode Island, Joshua Babcock (B.A. 1724), Paul Mumford (B.A. 1754); Connecticut, Zephaniah Swift (B.A. 1778), Stephen Titus Hosmer (B.A. 1782), David Daggett (B.A. 1783), Thomas Scott Williams (B.A. 1794), Samuel

Ohio,[7] Illinois,[8] Iowa,[9] Delaware,[10] North Carolina,[11] South Carolina,[12] Georgia,[13] Kentucky,[14] Louisiana,[15] Minnesota,[16] New Mexico,[17] Hawaii,[18] and of the neighboring British Colonies of Canada,[19] New Brunswick,[20] and Bermuda.[21]

Nor should the contributions of the four Yale lawyers who helped to frame the American Constitution be forgotten,[22] nor the fact that Yale has had four Attorneys General of the United States,[23] nor that it was a graduate who drew up the original act regulating the federal judicial system,[24] and another Yale man who was largely responsible for the Judiciary Act of 1887.[25]

Enough has been said by way of introduction to the biographies which follow to show that the University has rendered important aid to the legal profession, and to the sacred cause of American Jurisprudence. This is in keeping with its public service ideal expressed in the charter, and extolled at every Commencement. It is this note which gives unity to the most representative work of all graduates of the University, a characteristic conspicuously exemplified recently in the revision of the laws of Hawaii by a commission of four, made up entirely of Yale graduates.

Church (B.A. 1803), Henry M. Waite (B.A. 1809), Origen Storrs Seymour (B.A. 1824), Thomas B. Butler (M.D. 1828), Simeon E. Baldwin (B.A. 1861); Massachusetts, Marcus P. Knowlton (B.A. 1860).

6 Richard Morris (B.A. 1748), James Kent (B.A. 1781), Alexander S. Johnson (B.A. 1835).

7 Samuel Huntington (B.A. 1785), Return Jonathan Meigs (B.A. 1785), Peter Hitchcock (B.A. 1801).

8 Benjamin Magruder (B.A. 1856).

9 Elias H. Williams (B.A. 1840).

10 John M. Clayton (B.A. 1815).

11 William N. H. Smith (B.A. 1834).

12 Abraham Nott (B.A. 1787).

13 Joseph E. Brown (LL.B. 1846).

14 Thomas A. Marshall (B.A. 1815).

15 Thomas Slidell (B.A. 1825).

16 Henry Z. Hayner (B.A. 1826), William H. Welch (B.A. 1827), Isaac Atwater (B.A. 1844).

17 James H. Shorter (B.A. 1829), William J. Mills (LL.B. 1877).

18 Albert F. Judd (B.A. 1862), Walter F. Frear (B.A. 1885).

19 William Smith (B.A. 1745).

20 William Botsford (B.A. 1792).

21 James C. Esten (B.A. 1792).

22 See Introduction to Statesmen.

23 Alphonso Taft (B.A. 1833), William M. Evarts (B.A. 1837), Edwards Pierrepont (B.A. 1837), Wayne MacVeagh (B.A. 1853).

24 William Samuel Johnson (B.A. 1744).

25 William M. Evarts (B.A. 1837).

William Smith

Class of 1745

Born, June 18, 1728; Died, December 3, 1793

Chief Justice of Canada

William Smith, senior and junior, are among the most distinguished names in connection with the colonial Bench and Bar. The father (q.v.), the first Yale man to make the law his profession, was graduated in 1719, and was recognized as the most eloquent advocate in New York, and as an eminent judge and patriot. The son was one of the first men to inherit the college tradition. He graduated in 1745, at the early age of seventeen, and retained in after life an intimate friendship with Yale men of his time, including William Livingston (q.v.), and John Morin Scott (B.A. 1746)—the three forming a triumvirate of great influence in New York, being all prominent Presbyterians, and earnest in the agitation for the increase of popular rights.

Of his college life few details are preserved, other than that he was a high student. One biographer refers to him as "an honor man in the classics, mathematics, Hebrew, and medicine,"[1] but this seems to claim too much. His son merely states that "he distinguished himself so much by his learning and assiduity, that he obtained the degree of A.M. at a very early age."[2] The quality of his college work is shown by his fondness for reading Greek philosophy, and by the fact that he was well versed in divinity and knew some Hebrew. Smith and his twenty-six classmates had to defend a large number of difficult theses at the public Commencement, in accordance with the custom of the time. There were one hundred and six of these, divided into Theses Technologicæ, Logicæ, Grammaticæ, Rhetoricæ, Mathematicæ, Physicæ, Metaphysicæ, and Ethicæ. Of these, five

[1] Hamm, *Famous Families of New York*, Vol. II, p. 144.
[2] Memoir prefixed to Smith, *History of the Late Province of New York*. pp. ix, x.

are given on the Commencement broadside in italics, with a hand pointing at them, as though they were of special importance, namely:

Propositionis impossibilis nulla datur Idea
Lux non est visibilis
Naturalis est Deo potentia agendi contra Perfectiones ejus morales
Potestas legislativa est unicuique Societati essentialis
Res in se indifferentes, sunt proprium humanæ Potestatis Objectum

His Master's degree theme was the affirmative of the question, *An Fides in Messiam, sub omni Religionis Dispensatione, ad salutem sit necessaria?*

He studied law with the elder Smith, and later formed a partnership with Livingston. They prepared and published together, from 1752 to 1762, the first collection of the laws of the Colony of New York. During the same period he found time to write *The History of the Province of New-York, from the First Discovery to the Year M.DCC.XXIII.* This was printed in London. The author, in a modest preface, states that "It deserves not the name of history, though for brevity's sake I have given it that title: it presents only a regular thread of simple facts." He would have been astounded if he had returned to New York, in 1911, and found an uncut large paper copy of the first edition for sale for $3,500![3]

In 1767, the British Ministry appointed him a member of the Governor's Council, in place of his father, Governor Moore having urged the appointment in a letter saying that "he is now at the head of the profession of the law, and will be of great service in the Council, as his opinions may always be depended on, not only from his knowledge of the law but his integrity."[4] He was an earnest advocate of reform in political administration, and in 1765 urged upon the British premier a comprehensive plan of colonial union and home rule. Finally, finding that compromise was impossible, and believing that to take up arms against the mother country would be treason, he retired to his country place, determined to remain neutral, although

[3] Catalogue of Dodd & Livingston.
[4] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, p. 56.

constantly working for a peaceful settlement of difficulties. He seems to have retained the confidence of the most judicious men on both sides, although the more radical Whigs believed him a weathercock. When the bitter struggle was at its height he could say: "Being an enemy to no man I have a pleasure in believing no man to be mine."[5] He showed the same spirit when brought before the Provincial Convention in 1777, and asked whether he considered himself a subject of the independent State of New York. According to the official minutes he said:

> That he does not consider himself discharged from his oaths of fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain. He refers to his letter of the 4th July last, in answer to a summons of a committee of the Honorable Congress for an elucidation of his political sentiments. He has strictly conformed to his parol in that letter, nor will infringe it. He then conceived a separation from Great Britain could not be contended for with safety, to the rights, liberties, and privileges of this country; and from a deep concern for the colonies, he prays God that peace may be restored by a happy, safe, and generous reconciliation.[6]

The Crown appointed him Chief Justice of the province, in 1780, a year after his service on the Board of Commissioners for restoring peace in the colonies. As he accepted the position, and as he refused to swear allegiance to the New York constitution, he must be classed as a loyalist. The New York Legislature, in 1790, removed the disabilities growing out of his unwillingness to unite in the Revolutionary cause, but he preferred to remain in Canada, where he had gone in 1786, after spending a few years in England.

Sketches of William Smith which have heretofore appeared in America have almost completely overlooked his career in Canada, merely stating that as Chief Justice he introduced many reforms, including the appointment of constables. An investigation of Canadian sources of information shows him to have been an historical figure of real importance. While a citizen of New York he had proposed a plan of federation which he now, in 1789, modified to meet

[5] *Magazine of American History*, Vol. VI, p. 426.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI., p. 425.

the needs of all the remaining British possessions in North America. He clearly foreshadowed the great principle of Imperial Federation, advocating a Colonial Parliament for the "united interests and safety of every branch of the empire." There were to be two Houses—a Council, with members appointed for life, and an Assembly, with delegates elected by the various provincial assemblies. The Crown was to retain the veto power. English historians appreciate the significance of these original and statesmanlike proposals. Kingsford, in his standard *History of Canada,* says that "Eighty years were to pass before this view was to prevail; nevertheless the main principles followed in the establishment of the present constitution of the dominion are distinctly recognizable."[7] Similarly the biographer of Lord Dorchester, the British Governor, states that Smith's views put him "nearly a century before his time," and showed that he had "the gift of foresight in no ordinary degree."[8] Prior to his appointment as Chief Justice, he had served as Speaker of the Legislative Council in the first Canadian Parliament, so that, through his work in important political and judicial positions, he may be considered one of the men who laid the constitutional foundations of modern Canada.[9]

The Chief Justice was a man of noble Christian character. He had the highest ideals of the ethics of his profession.

> If he saw a cause was unjust, he would state that it was so, and if the litigant parties persisted in their respective views, he would desire them to seek another counsellor; if he found a cause doubtful, he always advised his client to compromise. When differences were referred to him, which he settled, he would receive no reward, though offered it by both parties, considering himself in these cases as a judge, observing that a judge ought to take no money.[10]

An adequate biography has never been published. The best sketch of his life is Delafield's "William Smith—the Historian," in the *Magazine of American History,* Volume VI.

[7] Kingsford, *History of Canada,* Vol. VII, p. 312. A writer in the *Boston Mirror* (1808-1809) gave his reasons for thinking that Smith also had some influence on the formation of the American Constitution. See *Magazine of American History,* Vol. VI, p. 427.

[8] Bradley, *Lord Dorchester,* pp. 261, 262.

[9] Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians,* p. 109.

[10] *Magazine of American History,* Vol. VI, p. 418, being the testimony of his son.

Sir,

I have perused the Draft of the Information ag^{t}. Munroe and now return'd—The facts charged I believe are all capable of Proof—but methinks that other of his taking obligation to defend the Indian Title had best be charged also not only because perhaps the witnesses to it may be had when those to others may be absent or if had may speak more fully to it but because it shows a resolute Determination to run all Risks to maintain the Indian Claim—I cannot enable you with precise certainty to fill up the Blanks but if you raise Questions for answers and send your clerk to M^{r} Scott who has the fullest Information being possessed of the Title Deeds &c to enable him to prepare for the last circuit in a cause then to be tried you will easily obtain the satisfaction you desire—and I could wish he wear [were] also desired to cast his Eye over a charge so unprecedented as this is and that too of so much importance—I am

Sir your most obed^{t}. serv^{t}.

W^{M} Smith Jr.

This undated letter on legal matters was written about 1760 to John Tabor Kempe, Esq. It is endorsed on the back, "M^{r}. Billy Smiths Letter about Monroos' Information." The Mr. Scott referred to was probably his college friend, John Morin Scott (B.A. 1746), who at this time was closely associated with him in New York in political matters.

JAMES KENT
Class of 1781

Born, July 31, 1763; Died, December 12, 1847
Author of Kent's Commentaries on American Law

Chancellor Kent was born in the present village of Doanesburg, New York, where his father, Moss Kent (B.A. 1752), was a lawyer. When five years old he was taken into the family of his grandfather, in Danbury, Connecticut, where his main preparation for college was secured from Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin (B.A. 1763). With both father and grandfather Yale graduates, young Kent did not long hesitate as to where to go for his education. Yale, in common with the other colleges of the country, was then at low ebb, owing to the difficulties of conducting an educational institution at a time when the country was engaged in a desperate struggle for freedom. In his Phi Beta Kappa address at the University, in 1831, he refers to the conditions from the time of the Declaration of Independence to the summer of his graduation, saying "that the College was not open and in regular exercise more than half the usual time." "But," he adds, "even the collegiate terms, broken and interrupted as they were, proved sufficient to give the students a taste for classical learning and philosophical science, and to teach them how to cultivate their own resources in the various pursuits and duties of life." During one of these interruptions, Kent, with other students under the care of Professor Strong, carried on his work at Glastonbury.

In the early summer of his Sophomore year occurred the famous invasion of New Haven by Governor Tryon. A college mate of Kent has left this account of the affair:

> July, 1779, Tryan and Traitor Arnold with three or four thousand British troops entered N. H. Night before at 9 o'clock an alarm was fired, again, at 1, which put the town in the utmost consternation. That night and next day exhibited

such excruciating distress among the women and children as I hope and pray I may never again witness.

The students request the Selectmen of the town to furnish them with arms to meet the enemy—but are not able. 3 of my class obtain arms and go out with Capt. Hillhouse and the Guards. . . . . After being one night in town they cross next morning to East Haven. While in town they burn buildings, destroy house furniture, merchants goods and groceries, and do all the damage that they could well do. The distress they made I will not attempt to describe.[1]

It was on this occasion that the ex-President of the College, Dr. Daggett, mounted his old black mare, and with fowling piece in hand, started out towards West Haven to meet the enemy. After he had indulged in some shooting, he was discovered by a British officer, and this conversation is reported as ensuing: "What are you doing there, you old fool, firing on His Majesty's troops?" "Exercising the rights of war," replied the dignified gentleman. "If I let you go this time, you rascal, will you ever fire again on the troops of His Majesty?" "Nothing more likely,"[2] was the spirited reply. Dr. Daggett, goaded on by bayonets, was driven before them into the town. The credit of saving the college buildings from destruction was claimed by Edmund Fanning (q.v.),[3] who was Colonel of a Loyalist Regiment, and afterwards Brigadier General in the British Army. Colonel Fanning, William Smith, Jr. (q.v.), Bishop Seabury (q.v.), and Judge Thomas Jones (B.A. 1750) were the best known of the small group of Yale graduates who bitterly opposed the war for independence.

Young Kent had to mortgage his future earning capacity about

[1] J. Maltby (B.A. 1779). Quoted from *Yale Alumni Weekly,* January 5, 1912. Chancellor Kent has preserved an account of these events. They are given in a footnote to his address delivered at New Haven, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society (pp. 40-41). "I was at New Haven, and saw the British troops in the act of landing at West Haven, early on the morning of the 5th July, 1779. . . . . By their prompt co-operation with the militia and volunteers (among whom may be included the former President Daggett, who fought, was wounded, taken prisoner, and maltreated,) the British troops were compelled to take a circuitous route of nine miles before they could enter and plunder the town. The next day I went from the country north of New Haven to Green's Farms, a village west of Fairfield, and slept under my father's roof. . . . . It is no wonder if I should feel, even at this remote time, some emotions of indignation at the recollection of those transactions."

[2] Quoted in Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution,* p. 108.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 109. For complete information regarding the invasion, see a pamphlet by Captain Charles Hervey Townshend entitled *The British Invasion of New Haven, Conn.* Also see Stiles, *Diary,* Vol. II, pp. 351-361.

four hundred dollars to secure his education in such stormy times, and it took him two or three years to work off the indebtedness. He studied hard as an undergraduate, and lived simply, almost austerely, never, so he tells us, having joined in card-playing or dancing,[4] and leaving college without having indulged in any beverage other than water.[5] But we are not to imagine that he was a prude, or a man of the "grind" type. Far from it. He was President of Linonia, and entered heartily into the life of the College Square—the word Campus,[6] an unattractive name, was not adopted until almost a century later—and, in spite of his strict ideas of propriety, acted in a Linonia play in his Senior year.[7] It was the tragedy of Ximena, and his part was that of Alonzo. He occupied a room in Connecticut Hall, northeast corner, fourth story, next to Lyceum, and known then as Number 4, East.[8] This he shared with his classmate, Elizur Wright. His own memoranda show that he was industrious and ambitious, and that he learned easily. He observed carefully the regulations of the authorities, and left the academic community "clothed with college honors."[9] Some of these may still be traced. He delivered the Cliosophic Oration at the time of the final examinations, then considered the most honorable of appointments. At the Commencement which followed—the first to be held in public for seven years—a Forensic Disputation was held on "Whether the Literature of the Antients excelled that of the Moderns." Kent and his classmate, Gridley, supported the affirmative. It is clear that he was considered a man of ability, and that he was especially known for his breadth of reading. Of his standing and studies he says:

> I stood as well as any of my class, but the test of scholarship at that day was contemptible. I was only a very inferior classical scholar, and we were not required,

[4] The coming of a dancing master to New Haven was the cause of much scandal, but President Stiles permitted the students to take lessons. See Stiles, *Diary* for 1782, Vol. II, pp. 10, 11.

[5] *Memoirs and Letters of James Kent*, p. 17.

[6] See "Campus" in *College Words and Phrases*. It was in early use in Princeton and in the Ohio colleges. It was not used at Yale until 1871-1872.

[7] Kingsley, *Yale College*, Vol. I, p. 313.

[8] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. II, p. 542.

[9] *Memoirs and Letters of James Kent*, p. 8.

and I had never looked into any Greek book but the New Testament. My favorite studies were geography, history, poetry, belles lettres, etc. When the college was broken up and dispersed in July, 1779, by the British, I retired to a country village, and, finding Blackstone's Commentaries, I read the four volumes. Parts of the work struck my taste, and the work inspired me, at the age of 15, with awe, and I fondly determined to be a lawyer.[10]

His classmate, Hon. Simeon Baldwin, is authority for the statement that Kent "left college universally beloved by his class and ranked as a scholar among the first."[11] When he went up for his Master's degree, three years later, he took the affirmative of the question, *An Potestates Congressus, salvâ Rei publicæ Salute, amplificari possint.* That his own feeling towards his Alma Mater was of the friendliest was shown in many ways. Here is part of a letter to Baldwin as Sexennial approached:

Commencement I recollect is at hand, in which you are going to recall some of your old sensations and probably embrace some of your old friends. Who can tell my wishes that I was to be of the number? The thought of that scene awakens most deeply my friendly sentiments. You and one or two more recur to me with a tenderness that almost unmans me. I love you most sincerely and my breast refutes the system that makes self-love the foundations of morals.[12]

Again in 1813 he records a visit to New Haven, and enters in his journal these thoughts:

Here I enjoyed for the better part of two days the luxury of retracing the footsteps and recalling the images of the years of my collegiate life. Here I had passed 4 years of innocence and simplicity and sanguine hopes of youth, and I eagerly dwelt with fond and tender and melancholy recollections on every spot consecrated by my youthful sports and tread. I was chastened into sober reflections under the consideration that it was thirty-two years since I left those delightful abodes of the Muses. . . . .[13]

The greatest evidence of Kent's devotion to Yale was given by his visit to New Haven to deliver the Phi Beta Kappa address, after he had attained his fame. The entry in his journal for Tuesday, September 13, 1831, is worth quoting in full:

A fine day. I arose early and walked around the Town and it appeared

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[12] Coxe, *Chancellor Kent at Yale*, p. 21.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

James Kent

Class of 1781

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 18.
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[12] Coxe, *Chancellor Kent at Yale*, p. 21.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

enchanting. It is a large and elegantly built Town in large squares and adorned with thick and lofty trees, being elms and sycamores. It is *rus in urbe.*

At 11 a.m. I attended the meeting of the Ph.B.K. in the 3d story of the old chapel. R. M. Sherman, Esq., was President. There I saw Ed. Everett and a crowd of the civilians and clergy and Professors. The question was on abolishing the secrets of the Society. Professor Silliman, Doctor Ives, Revd. Mr. Robbins, the Revd. Mr. Bacon of the 1st Presbyterian Congregation & Judge Daggett spoke. The rule of secrecy was abolished with acclamation.[14] We then marched in procession to the North Church on the Green which I found full of Ladies and Gentlemen. The President of the Society and the chaplain and I ascended the pulpit and after a short prayer I delivered my address. It consumed an hour and 12 minutes. We then went and dined at the Franklin House which is a superb Establishment. We then went to the College Lyceum and there was a large and general meeting of the Alumni of Yale College and I presided. The object was upon raising $100,000[15] by subscription, the sums payable in 4 annual instalments, the first to be paid on 1 Jan'y. 1832. President Day, Professor Silliman, the Minister of the 1st Congregation, Mr. Pitkin, Lucius C. Duncan, Esq. of N. Orleans, La., spoke. (I subscribed $400.)[16]

The Chancellor's address, preserved in manuscript in the Yale Library, is an important one. As one reads it, and the other Orations and Poems delivered annually before the Phi Beta Kappa Society from 1787 to 1871,[17] a feeling of regret cannot be withheld that this good old custom, which would seem to be in the interest of scholarship and of literature, should have been allowed to disappear at Yale. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Chancellor Kent, Edward Everett, William H. Seward, and Edward Rowland Sill were among those who honored the occasion in those days. The closing words of Kent's Oration have the melodious sound of the oratory of the old school: "It must be the wish of all the true sons of this venerable university,

[14] The Phi Beta Kappa Society was publicly attacked for its secrecy as early as 1798. See Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. V, p. 316.

[15] The successful carrying out of this "Centum Milia" fund project was of much significance. It was the first time that the alumni had been systematically canvassed. Three-fourths of the subscriptions were in sums of $100 or less. The movement was the precursor of the Woolsey Fund of $168,000 raised from 1871 to 1873, of the Alumni University Fund started in 1890, which in its first twenty years added $454,000 to the principal of University funds in addition to making large annual gifts to income, of the Bicentennial Fund of about a million and a half (used mainly to erect Woolsey Hall and the adjoining buildings), of the University Endowment and Extension Fund of over three million dollars, raised mainly in 1906 and 1907, and of the recent Wright Memorial Fund of over $300,000, for the erection of Wright Hall.

[16] Coxe, *Chancellor Kent at Yale,* p. 30.

[17] See list in Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. I, p. 327.

that it may fulfill its high purpose, and continue to flourish in health and vigor, with expanding views, and increasing luster, down to the latest posterity."[18] He deeply enjoyed this visit to his old college. Probably to him its crowning joy was the fiftieth reunion of his class, at which two-thirds of the survivors were present—a record of which 1781 might well be proud.

The Chancellor's feelings of devotion to his Alma Mater which came to the front at this visit are thus summed up in a sentence from the address just quoted:

> Who indeed can resist the feelings which consecrate the place where he was born, the ground where his ancestors sleep, the hills and haunts lightly trodden in the vehemence of youth, and above all, where stand the classic halls in which early friendships were formed and the young mind was taught to expand and admire!

Here is a quotation emphasizing the same point taken from a letter written by his son and read at the Centennial of the Linonian Society: "When an old gray-headed man, he would converse with sensibility and delight of the studies and associates of his youth in your academic retreat; and his almost romantic affection for the College was extinguished only with his life."[19]

We must return to the years immediately after graduation when he was a student of law and a careful reader of Hume, Smollett, Hale, Blackstone, and other authorities on the history and jurisprudence of England. His legal training was in a law office in Poughkeepsie, where he was admitted to the Bar and practiced for several years. He served in the General Assembly for three terms, being elected as a Federalist. Here his powers of leadership were developed, and he gained so much reputation by his arguments in debate before the legislature, and in his communications to the public press, that he was elected, in 1793, to the newly established professorship of law in Columbia College. After a few years of teaching, in which his private practice was continued, and after serving as Master in Chancery and Recorder, he was appointed Judge of the Supreme

[18] Kent, *Address delivered at New Haven, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society,* p. 48.
[19] Evarts, *An Oration . . . . before the Linonian Society,* 1853, p. 80.

Court of New York State, of which he later became Chief Justice. In 1814 he was transferred to the Court of Chancery, where he served as Chancellor for a decade, until he had reached the retiring age required by statute. Then he removed to New York, resuming both private practice and his professorship.

So much for the bare outline of facts and dates, but what of their significance? During this period Chancellor Kent, through his decisions and his *Commentaries on American Law* (published from 1826 to 1830), was laying the foundations of a national system of jurisprudence, made necessary by the separation from the mother country. This achievement was due to his profound knowledge of the principles of law inherited by the people of the United States, to his thorough study of the Constitution, to his keen and judicial mind and phenomenal memory, to his mastery of a clear and noble style, developed from reading the ancient and modern classics, and to the fact that he had in his fellow Yalensian, William Johnson (B.A. 1788), an ideal court reporter.[20] As a result Kent's decisions were quoted in every state. His position was as unique as that of Blackstone in England. His authority as an interpreter of law was almost unchallenged. That he realized this is shown by a letter regarding the success of his judicial work, which is valuable as an autobiographic record:

> When I came to the Bench there were no reports of State precedents. The opinions from the Bench were delivered *ore tenus*. We had no law of our own, and nobody knew what it was. I first introduced a thorough examination of cases and written opinions. In January, 1799, the second case reported in first Johnson's cases, of Ludlow v. Dale, is a sample of the earliest. The judges, when we met, all assumed that foreign sentences were only good *prima facie*. I presented and read my written opinion that they were conclusive, and they all gave up to me, and so I read it in court as it stands. This was the commencement of a new plan, and then was laid the first stone in the subsequently erected temple of our jurisprudence.
>
> Between that time and 1804 I rode my share of circuits, attended all the terms, and was never absent, and was always ready in every case by the day. I read in

[20] Another well-known Yale court reporter was Thomas Day (B.A. 1797), who was Reporter of the Connecticut Supreme Court for almost half a century, and also edited important legal works.

that time Valin and Emerigon, and completely abridged the latter, and made copious digests of all the English law reports and treatises as they came out. I made much use of the *Corpus Juris,* and as the judges (Livingston excepted) knew nothing of French or civil law, I had immense advantage over them. I could generally put my brethren to rout and carry my point by my mysterious wand of French and civil law. The judges were Republicans and very kindly disposed to everything that was French, and this enabled me, without exciting any alarm or jealousy, to make free use of such authorities and thereby enrich our commercial law.

I gradually acquired preponderating influence with my brethren, and the volumes in Johnson, after I became Chief-Justice, in 1804, show it. The first practice was for each judge to give his portion of opinions, when we all agreed, but that gradually fell off, and, for the last two or three years before I left the Bench, I gave most of them. I remember that in eighth Johnson all the opinions for one term are *"per curiam."* The fact is I wrote them all and proposed that course to avoid exciting jealousy, and many a *per curiam* opinion was so inserted for that reason.[21]

A letter from a representative American lawyer and statesman will fairly indicate the significance of the services which make Kent rank with Story and Marshall among the founders of the American system of jurisprudence. Charles Sumner wrote to him in 1836:

I feel happy in the opportunity afforded by this letter of expressing to you my lively sense of the deep debt which every American lawyer owes to you, and no one feels it more than myself, for the light which you have cast over the dark and rugged paths of legal study: first, by the large and splendid series of judicial opinions, in which justice was so nobly administered and the law so steadfastly advanced; and second, by your admirable Commentaries, which have now become the manual of the practitioner, as they have since their first publication been the institute of the students. Not a day passes without reminding me of the value of your labors, and without strengthening in me those feelings of attachment as towards a cherished instructor.[22]

The contemporaneous judgment of Sumner could be repeated today.[23] An evidence of this is that of the sixteen "Immortals" selected for bronze figures in the rotunda of the Library of Congress, Kent is included, the only other Americans being Robert Fulton and Joseph Henry.

Not only did his distinction as a jurist bring him the highest

[21] *Memoirs and Letters of James Kent,* p. 117.
[22] *Ibid.,* p. 203.
[23] Cf. Coxe, *Chancellor Kent at Yale,* p. 52.

honors from the colleges, including the Doctorate of Laws from Harvard, Columbia, Dartmouth, and the University of Pennsylvania, but his nobility of character, purity, and dignity of life, made him loved and respected by all who knew him. The Kent Professorship of Law, the Kent Club in the Law School, and a portrait commemorate the great Chancellor at his University.

William Kent's *Memoirs and Letters of James Kent, LL.D.,* is the standard biography. An interesting paper written for the *Yale Law Journal* by Hon. Macgrane Coxe (B.A. 1879) was privately printed, in 1909, under the title of *Chancellor Kent at Yale, 1777-1781.*

New York September 7, 1834

Dear Sir

I have read with great Pleasure & Profit the first Volume of your "History of the United States," & though my opinion may not be of much Value, owing to my very imperfect acquaintance with the original materials requisite to form a true History of this Country, I beg leave however to state, that I have studied your Volume thoroughly, & arise from it deeply impressed with its admirable qualities. It is distinguished for trustworthiness, fidelity & accuracy. You display as Gibbon does, familiarity with original materials & profound & scrupulous research. There is no American work *of the kind* to be compared to it. Dr. Holmes' Annals, & Story Commentaries on the Constitution of the U States are works of the same Stamp for fidelity & accuracy. I also admire your Style. It shows Tacitus's Genius in comprehensiveness, Brevity, Energy & Eloquence. You have exemplified the first great Duty of the Historian, *integros accedere fontes atque haurire.* I examine all your notes, but complain sometimes that they pre-suppose in the reader (what he has not) a familiar knowledge of the materials of the History. I do full Justice to your Intensity of Reflection & feeling, & your liberal & impartial Views. I do not believe quite so much in the Claims of a pure democracy, as I think it must always be a failure in all prosperous & civilized & commercial Communities, but I admit it to be a delightful Vision.

I hope you will, my dear sir, meet with ample Encouragement, & have "Health, leisure & Perseverance" to go on & finish your great work, which will confer Immortality on your Name, & elevate your Country

Yours very respectfully

Mr. Bancroft

James Kent

This letter to George Bancroft is of significance because Kent was specially interested in historical studies, being President of the New York Historical Society. He was a strong Federalist, having been at one time, in his early career, defeated for Congress as the representative of his party. A suggestive commentary on his political faith is given by his statement in the letter that he thinks "a pure democracy . . . . must always be a failure in all prosperous & civilized & commercial Communities."

Jeremiah Mason

Class of 1788

Born, April 27, 1768; Died, October 14, 1848

Leader of the New England Bar

The name of Jeremiah Mason is not a familiar one to most people, but to those who have made a study of legal biography, it stands for the very highest attainments at the Bar. He was the son of a Revolutionary Colonel, and was born in Lebanon, Connecticut. He was prepared for college at the well-known local school of Master Nathan Tisdale. Requirements for admission were not very high then, the classical examination being confined to parts of Virgil and of Cicero's *Orations,* together with the Gospels in Greek. Mason has left an account of his entrance upon his course at Yale that is interesting in view of the reputation which he later made as a lawyer. It was at a time when the fagging system was at its height:

> I arrived the afternoon of the first day of the term, and having put up my horse and engaged lodgings for the night, I, towards evening, went up to the college to see the splendor of my future residence. While standing in the college yard (as the inclosure was called), a man booted and with a horsewhip in hand, approached me and asked if I was a Freshman. I answered, "Yes, sir." "Take off your hat, then, when in the presence of one of the government of the college." He added, "Go and ring the bell for prayers," and passed into the college building. I was confused by this harshness and went immediately to what I supposed to be the chapel. The door of the belfry was open, but on entering I could find no bell rope. I looked into the chapel, nobody was there; after looking again for the bell rope and finding none, and feeling a little indignant at the rude treatment I had received, I left the chapel and returned to my inn. There I found several of my classmates, with whom I soon became acquainted. I told them the story of the treatment I had received and of my apprehension of trouble from my disobedience of orders; this led to an ardent discussion of the demerits of the fagging servitude to which, by the ancient college regulations, the Freshmen were subjected. . . . .[1]

It turned out that the man who made this demand was a tutor who, the following day, met Mason and took him seriously to task for

[1] For this and other details of his college life, see *Memoir and Correspondence of Jeremiah Mason,* p. 7 and following pages.

failing to carry out his orders. Later he was relieved of the necessity of general fagging[2] by being taken into the room of the senior tutor. For this privilege he was obliged to contribute towards furnishing this officer's study, and to run his errands, but he was exempted from acting as a fag for the upper classmen in such matters as carrying water from the pump, and in performing other menial services. The conditions of life for Freshmen improved somewhat during Mason's college course. In his Senior year they gained the great privilege of being allowed to wear hats after the January vacation![3]

The experience with Tutor Channing was the nearest thing to Faculty discipline which Mason underwent. He studied faithfully.

> I passed through college with good success; my standing in my class was among the first. In Latin and mathematics I was inferior to none, and deeply regret my subsequent neglect of those studies. In Greek I pretty thoroughly mastered the Greek Testament, the only book required to be studied, and in which we were examined. My real knowledge in that language was slender, and is now almost entirely lost. I excelled in forensic disputations, of which considerable account was then made in the college. My greatest deficiency was in the English language, which I impute to the neglect of my early school education. Almost no pains were taken in English at the college at that time.

We find from the records of Phi Beta Kappa that Mason and twelve others were "approbated" as members, July 5, 1787. At the next meeting the society "convened in beauteous order and inducted the above named gentlemen into the Brotherhood. . . . . Friendship glowing in each breast caught an additional ray and appeared in her most lovely robes: mutual engagements were ratifyed and sealed with the awful solemnities of the Oath; and sincere congratulations flowed from the tongue while the hand more emphatically gave the fraternal wellcoming embrace."[4] Comment is unnecessary! The subjects which he personally debated were the following: "Ought females to share in civil government?", decided in the negative; "Ought the Physicians in the State of Connecticut to

[2] This system continued in force until 1804. Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. V, pp. 131 and 623.

[3] Stiles, *Diary*, Vol. III, p. 299.

[4] MS. Records of Phi Beta Kappa Society, July 10, 1787.

be incorporated into a society?", decided in the negative; "Do all men descend from Adam?", decided in affirmative; "Has the Christian Religion in its institution & progress been beneficial to the temporal interests of mankind?", no record of decision. Like many other famous Yalensians he was also President of Linonia.

An interesting contemporary account of New Haven[5] and of Yale College, written towards the close of Mason's Junior year, is given in the journal of Manasseh Cutler (q.v.). He speaks highly of the President, and of the members of the Faculty, "who are truly literary characters," refers favorably to the appearance of the student body, and makes these comments on the meager scientific and literary equipment of the institution:

> We took a view of the Library, the Philosophy Chamber, and Cabinet. The Library is small; the collection consists principally of rather antiquated authors. The Philosophical apparatus is still less valuable—an air-pump, tolerably good; a reflecting telescope, wholly useless, for the large and small mirrors are covered with rust, occasioned by poking in greasy fingers; a microscope of the compound kind, but very ancient; a miserable electrical machine; a large homely orrery, made by one of the students; a hydrostatic balance, and a few articles, not worth naming. A handsome sum, however, is now being collected for purchasing a complete Philosophical apparatus. The Cabinet is a good collection, but very badly disposed.[6]

In Senior year his class was instructed by President Stiles, whom he respected for his "admirable powers of government," which, however, were insufficient to prevent occasional serious disorders, one during Mason's course rising to the dignity of a "rebellion." It was occasioned by undergraduate disapproval of the unusual severity of the examinations! Stiles' instruction was mainly in ethics, where Locke was considered the authority. There was also a general review of the work of the previous years, and some instruction in Hebrew—the President's favorite study. As there was only one prescribed recitation a day for Seniors, there was much time for general reading or elementary professional study, so Mason began his preparation

[5] For a general description of the town at this time see Professor Dexter's paper, "New Haven in 1784," *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, Vol. IV, p. 117.

[6] *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler*, Vol. I, under July 3, 1787.

for the Bar. He also attended trials in the New Haven courts, and was greatly interested in hearing the famous advocates of the day. He tells us that "the admiration excited there led me to choose the law for my profession."

> My college life, on the whole, passed pleasantly and with tolerable profit. At the Commencement, when I was graduated (1788), in the public exercises a part in the forensic disputation was assigned to me. My classmate, the Rev. Dr. Chapin, was my opponent. Our question was, whether capital punishment was, in any case, lawful. I held the negative. I stole the most of my argument from the treatise of the Marquis Beccaria, then little known in this country. It was new, and consequently well received by the audience; indeed, its novelty excited considerable notice. I was flattered and much gratified by being told that my performance was the best of the day. In the course of a long and active life I recollect no occasion when I have experienced such elevation of feeling.[7]

His formal legal training was secured under two Yale lawyers of prominence: Hon. Simeon Baldwin (B.A. 1781) of New Haven, and General Stephen Rowe Bradley (B.A. 1775) of Vermont. The former became a judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut, the latter held a similar position in his native state, and represented it in the United States Senate, of which he was at one time President *pro tempore*. After practicing in small towns of Vermont and New Hampshire, Mason moved to Portsmouth, so as to broaden his opportunities. He made that town his home until his removal, in 1832, to Boston, where he soon rose to undisputed leadership in his profession. During this early period he had served as a Federalist in the United States Senate, had declined the Chief Justiceship of New Hampshire, had been elected for several terms to the State House of Representatives, and had been President of the branch of the Bank of the United States at Portsmouth. He had done well in these positions, but it is not from them that he derived his fame. This rests upon no office that he held, but upon his brilliant success at the Bar. As an advocate he was supreme. Professor Dexter, writing in 1907, says that he was "probably the ablest lawyer that ever

[7] *Memoir and Correspondence of Jeremiah Mason*, p. 12.

practiced in New England."[8] This is the judgment of an historical scholar not accustomed to deal recklessly in superlatives. One of the trials in which he rendered a conspicuous public service was the Dartmouth College case, the final decision of which in favor of the Trustees has been considered the strongest bulwark of the inviolable legal right of duly chartered educational and philanthropic institutions. The winning of the case by the college is identified in the public mind with the eloquence of Daniel Webster before the United States Supreme Court, but the main features of the argument were worked up by Mason in the first trial before the Superior Court of New Hampshire, in 1817.[9] The impression which he made on the ablest of his contemporaries in this and other cases was marked, and was shown by his receiving the Doctorate of Laws from Bowdoin, Harvard, and Dartmouth. But more convincing than these are the testimonies of Joseph Story and of Daniel Webster. Judge Story, in 1838, dedicated to him his commentary on *Equity Pleading,* in token of his admiration for his talents, and in remembrance of "a friendship which commenced with my first entrance among the Bar, in which you were then the acknowledged leader." The opening words of the note of inscription are worth quoting:

To the Honorable Jeremiah Mason, LL.D.,

Sir,—I esteem it a great privilege to have the opportunity of dedicating this work to you. Few circumstances in my life could be more grateful, than those which enable me to inscribe on the pages, which contain my own juridical labors, the memorials of my private friendships, as well as the avowals of my reverence for the great, the good, and the wise. Your own enviable distinction, so long held in the first rank of the profession, and supported by an ability and depth and variety of learning, which have had few equals, and to which no one can bear a more prompt and willing testimony than myself, would alone entitle you to a far higher tribute, than any I can bestow. I well know that I speak but the common voice of the profession on this subject; for they have well understood the vigor and the weight of that lucid argumentation, which has spoken in language for the cause, and not merely for its ornament: Neque id ipsum, tam leporis causa, quam ponderis. . . . .[10]

[8] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. IV, p. 611.
[9] For outline of his legal argument, see *General Catalogue of Dartmouth College,* p. 37.
[10] *Memoir and Correspondence of Jeremiah Mason,* p. 418.

Webster, who considered competition with Mason one of the greatest factors in his own development, bears similar testimony in his autobiography, written twenty years before his friend's death:

> Indeed, for the nine years I lived in Portsmouth, Mr. Mason and myself, in the counties where we both practiced, were on the opposite sides, pretty much as a matter of course. He has been of infinite advantage to me not only by his unvarying friendship, but by the many good lessons he has taught, and the example he set me, in the commencement of my career. If there be in the country a stronger intellect; if there be a mind of more native resources; if there be a vision that sees quicker, or sees deeper into whatever is intricate, or whatsoever is profound, I must confess I have not known it. I have not written this paragraph without considering what it implies. I look to that individual [Chief Justice Marshall] who, if it belong to anybody, is entitled to be the exception. But I deliberately let the judgment stand. That that individual has much more habit of regular composition, that he has been disciplined and exercised in a vastly superior school, that he possesses even a faculty of illustration more various and more easy, I think may be admitted. That the original reach of his mind is greater, that its grasp is stronger, that its logic is closer, I do not allow.[11]

These tributes have to do with Jeremiah Mason's extraordinary gifts as seen from the standpoint of lawyers, but he was equally respected by laymen, and by men in other professions, for his wisdom, his character, and his patriotism. George Ticknor, the historian, in a beautiful letter to Mrs. Mason, after her husband's death, speaks of him as being "trusted . . . . by the greatest and best among us, more than any other man in New England."[12] He was a country lawyer of undoubted genius who rose to be the recognized leader of the Bar in a section of the country noted for its advocates. It seems unfortunate that the name of one so great and so good should be almost unknown two generations after his death, except to legal and historical students. But it is part of a University's duty to keep green the memory of such a man, that it may serve as an inspiration to the young lawyers of the future.

His bust in the Law School shows his massive proportions of body and of mind. He was six feet and six inches tall, being, as his

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 393, quoted from Curtis, *Life of Webster*, p. 89.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 419.

colleague in the Senate, Henry Clay, said, "a giant in stature and a giant in mind."[13] A "Life" was privately printed in Cambridge, in 1873. It is entitled *Memoir and Correspondence of Jeremiah Mason.*

Washington Feb.y 21. 1814

Dear Sir

You will probably have anticipated from the public papers all the intelligence in my power to communicate. Opinions here on the subject of peace are various. Many doubt whether our government really wish for peace. The retaining of their power is unquestionably their chief object. If they see no danger of loosing that they will feel no anxiety to terminate the war. The distribution of the vast sums of money now expended affords innumerable opportunities of gratifying & enriching their friends and partizans. Their great difficulty is to devise ways & means to obtain the money necessary to carry on the war on the present plan. They fear they shall not be able to obtain the immense loans constantly required. I think they will get the loans for the present year on some terms. If loans after this year are required heavier taxes must be resorted to. This would endanger their popularity. They know they have lost popularity by the war thus far. Should this continue they will I think try to make peace on any terms which would afford a good prospect of preserving their popularity. But any considerable alteration of circumstances or even of popular opinion in their favour would change their wishes.

The approaching election in N. Hampshire is deemed to be of more than ordinary importance. If we loose it the union of N. England will be destroyed. I hope all justifiable & proper measures will be adopted to secure a favourable result.

It is now expected Congress will rise some time in April. I hope the session will not be protracted beyond that time. I am tired with being here & wish to be at home.

Please to give my affectionate respects to Mrs. Means & the family.

I am D^{r}. Sir sincerely yrs

J. Mason

R. Means Esq^{r}.

This letter addressed to Colonel Robert Means, Mrs. Mason's father, was written in the dark days of the War of 1812. The

[13] Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman,* Vol. II, p. 87.

previous month the government was forced to offer a large bounty ($124 and one hundred and twenty acres) to attract new recruits, and a few weeks later it authorized an additional loan of twenty-five million dollars to meet expenses. The large expenditures of money necessary to conduct the war seem to have weighed specially on Senator Mason's mind. Being a strong Federalist, he was convinced that President Madison and the Democrats were prolonging the war for partisan purposes. The treaty of peace was not signed until ten months later—December 24, 1814.

James Gould

Class of 1791

Born, December 5, 1770; Died, May 11, 1838

Teacher of Law

James Gould, the first American lawyer to make the teaching of law the main work of his life,[1] was born in Branford, Connecticut, where his father and his grandfather before him were practicing physicians. Yale, in his day, was beginning to feel the effect of the forces which were bringing on the French Revolution. Gould's classmate, Hon. Samuel M. Hopkins, says that "the spirit of Yale College was at that time a spirit of literary ambition and of infidelity."[2] Doubtless this was in a measure true, but a small class—only twenty-seven men—contained, in addition to Gould and Hopkins, two men of note—Peter Buell Porter (q.v.), afterwards Secretary of War and a General in the War of 1812, and Stephen Elliott, a citizen of Charleston, South Carolina, whose work in the widely separated fields of public finance, botany,[3] and education, gained broad recognition.

Gould maintained throughout his college course the highest stand in his studies, and graduated with the Salutatory Oration—then the most distinguished honor. This was specially commendable, as inherited gout early affected his eyesight, and generally made it necessary for him to have the books assigned for study read aloud. Perhaps this ill-health explains his small bills at the College Butler's, where apples and walnuts seem to have been his main purchases! He was President of Brothers in Unity, was on many of its committees, served as "Professor of History," "Professor of Oratory," and "Professor of Natural Philosophy," and, as Secretary, kept the records for a part of his Sophomore year. At the end of Junior year,

[1] Baldwin, "James Gould," in *Great American Lawyers,* p. 455.
[2] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. IV, p. 712.
[3] His *Sketch of the Botany of South-Carolina and Georgia* is a standard work.

at the Anniversary of the society, he took the part of Esquire Modern in a play entitled "Modern Knavery, Scholastic Pedantry, and Religious Hypocrisy." The minutes of the society thus refer to this event, which took place at "Mr. A. Bishop's Theatre":

> The Tutors, all the Literati of the City, and many respectable citizens of the place, together with the members of College composed our very respectable audience—No Ladies were admitted, it being prohibited by the President & Tutors—Mr Jones's Comedy was first performed; to which the audience discovered their approbation by repeated peals of laughter.[4]

Gould was evidently thought well of as an actor, for he also took part in a tragedy which followed.

The debates of the Phi Beta Kappa Society were important occasions in those days, and they did much for Gould's development. We find him discussing such subjects as: "Ought the Public to compensate Individuals for the losses sustained during the late war?", and "Would it be politic for the United States to build a navy?" These questions were both decided in the affirmative. He was appointed one of the society's orators, but "was prevented by ill-health from performing." He also acquired a reputation for literary skill, and laid the foundations of that excellent English style which marked his later work. Shortly after graduation, he won the premium offered by Noah Webster (q.v.) for "the best treatise on Ethics, Moral Philosophy, or Belles Lettres," his essay being "On the Origin and Progress of History, and the Utility of Historical Knowledge."[5] The winning of this prize carried with it a sort of guarantee of moral character, as will be seen by the deed of gift, printed in the sketch of Webster.

After somewhat over a year of school teaching, Gould returned to New Haven, where he served for eighteen months as a college tutor, receiving seventy pounds the first year, and seventy-five the second. He then went to Litchfield to complete his legal studies under Judge Reeve, a Princeton graduate, but a grandson of Yale,[6] who

[4] MS. Records Brothers in Unity for July 28, 1790.
[5] For other recipients of this prize, see *Yale Literary Magazine*, Vol. XVII, p. 30.
[6] Son of Abner Reeve (B.A. 1731).

had established, in 1784, the first law school in America, and then the only institution of its character in the English-speaking world.[7] It was with this remarkable school that his main life work was connected, and it was here that his teaching of law became a national influence. Judge Reeve was elected to the Supreme Court of the state in 1798. From this date until 1820, Gould was his associate in instruction. After that, until the school's discontinuance in 1833, it was entirely under his direction, his assistant for many years being Hon. Jabez W. Huntington (B.A. 1806). Litchfield was then a center of much influence. Dr. Lyman Beecher (q.v.) was making its Congregational pulpit famous. Miss Sarah Pierce's boarding school drew girls from the most representative families; three courts held regular sessions in the town, and the law school attracted students from all over the country, three-quarters of them being from outside the state. Judge Reeve, a man of learning and eloquence, deserves the credit for founding the institution, and for developing the course of instruction, but he was not the equal of Gould in sheer intellectual force, and the school could not have long retained its renown without the latter. No catalogues were issued in the early years, but it is known that during its history over one thousand students were in attendance, four-fifths of them being trained for the law under Gould's instruction. Among those whose minds were thus largely influenced by this eminent teacher were: Horace Mann, John C. Calhoun (q.v.), Justices of the Federal Supreme Court Baldwin, Woodbury, and Hunt, sixteen United States Senators, and fifty judges of the higher courts of states, of whom nine were chief justices. The school represented a great advance over the method of learning law by reading in a lawyer's office, which preceded it. The studies were remarkably comprehensive for the period. Gould lectured on Municipal Law, Contracts, Bailments, Private Wrongs, System of Pleading, Real Property, Title by Deed, etc.[8] His published lectures

[7] Baldwin, in *Great American Lawyers*, p. 455.
[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 469-471.

on *Pleading* remain "both a standard authority and a model text book."[9] The regular course lasted fourteen months, and was noteworthy for the combination of the "case" and "text book" systems. Every morning Gould gave an account of some of the reported English cases. These were studied during the day, accompanied by parallel reading from legal works. Another feature was the regular holding, with much formality, of moot courts, at which the subject of this sketch presided, the leading law officer, the attorney general, being chosen by the students.

In 1816 Gould was elected to the Supreme Court of the state. Its sessions were held during the school's vacation, so he continued his lectures, but he remained a judge only three years, and thenceforward gave his time entirely to teaching. His record on the Bench, as at the Bar, was highly honorable, but his fame rests exclusively on his career as a teacher of law. Here "he then stood first in the United States,"[10] and made his school just as prominent in its day as that in Cambridge became two generations later.

The Harvard Law School was founded in 1817, and that of Yale seven years afterwards. The opportunities of these institutions with university affiliations, the poor health of Judge Gould, and the publication of two law works—both written by Yale graduates—Swift's *Digest* and Kent's *Commentaries,* which changed the basis of legal instruction, had their disintegrating effect on the institution. It declined in influence after 1826.

The experience of the past century has shown conclusively that the highest type of professional schools of law, theology, and medicine, must hereafter be organic parts of universities in large towns or cities, or at least closely affiliated with them. Litchfield Law School, Andover Theological Seminary, as an Andover institution, and the Medical School of the Western District of New York, are things of the past. Colleges will continue to thrive in small villages, but not

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 485 (date 1909).
[10] *Ibid.,* p. 486.

great professional schools—they need the contacts and the standards of a larger life.

Judge Gould and his school were thus described, in 1851:

> Thirty-eight years ago . . . . there existed an extensive Law School in the State of Connecticut, at which more than sixty students from all parts of the country were assembled,—every State then in the Union, being there represented. I joined it in 1813, when it was at its zenith, and the only prominent establishment of the kind in the land. The recollection is as fresh as the events of yesterday, of our passing along the broad, shaded streets of one of the most beautiful of the villages of New England, with our ink stands in our hands, and our portfolios under our arms, to the lecture room of Judge Gould,—the last of the Romans of Common Law lawyers; the impersonation of its genius and spirit. It was, indeed in his eyes the perfection of human reason—by which he measured every principle and rule of action, and almost every sentiment. He was an admirable English scholar; every word was pure English, undefiled, and every sentence fell from his lips perfectly finished, as clear, transparent, and penetrating as light, and every rule and principle as exactly defined and limited as the outline of a building against the sky. . . . .[11]

Judge Gould was a man of much breadth of reading and culture, and of philosophical mind. He was a strikingly handsome man, and was known for his courtesy, and for his charm in conversation. His wife, who was a daughter of Senator Uriah Tracy (B.A. 1778), aided to made his home a peculiarly attractive and interesting center for the life of the school and of the community.

His only memorial at his Alma Mater is a portrait. He delivered the Commencement address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1825. It was on "The Efficient Power of Intellectual Influence," and was published. A few years earlier the University had made him a Doctor of Laws—surely an appropriate title for one who gave, with signal success, the major part of thirty-five years of his life to legal instruction. The best account of his career is that given in *Great American Lawyers.*

Mr. Baldwin,

I expect to start for Litchf[d] by stage, this morning. Whether Mr. Jones pays the redemption money, on my sister's mortgage, or not, I wish you to

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 471, 472. Address of Hon. Charles J. Loring of Boston.

send on her *papers* (the mortgage deed &c), to me, at Litchf[d]. If Jones does *not* pay, I shall sell the land, immediately, to another, who has made an offer of $300 for a quitclaim of my sister's title. If Jones pays, please (after deducting your own fees) to retain also for Timothy Johnson $3.25, due to him, (as by the enclosed memorandum), & forward the balance to me. If the money should not be paid to you, I shall pay your demand.

Your friend, JAMES GOULD

N. Haven, Monday Sept. 6—½ pas [sic] 7 a.m.—I am to start at 8.

Letters of Judge Gould are exceedingly rare. The one in the collection is addressed to Roger Sherman Baldwin (q.v.) and was presented to the author by his grandson, Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin (B.A. 1861). It is without special interest except as showing his orderly and clear-cut method of statement.

JUDAH PHILIP BENJAMIN

Class of 1829

Born, August 11, 1811; Died, May 8, 1884

Jurist, and Secretary of State of the Southern Confederacy

Few American jurists have had so romantic a career as Judah P. Benjamin. He was born of humble English Jewish parents in St. Croix, in the West Indies, but was destined to become the "brains of the Southern Confederacy," and later one of the best known of English barristers and legal writers of the second half of the nineteenth century. His boyhood was passed in Wilmington, North Carolina, but he is entered in the college catalogues as coming from Charleston, then a prominent Yale center. He made an excellent record as a scholar at New Haven, his three recorded term stands in the Book of Averages being all 3.3—showing remarkable consistency. Benjamin's signature may still be seen in the membership book of the Philencratian Society in the author's possession. He joined as a Sophomore, promising to "conform" to its articles, the first of which stated its object to be "to encourage habits of temperance in this & similar institutions." The society's purposes are more fully described in the biography of Horace Bushnell (q.v.). A few years later (1830) it changed from a temperance to a total abstinence basis, the change being due to the belief of its members that intemperance had become " a vice of alarming extent throughout this country, and productive of ruin & disgrace in this Institution. . . . ."

He was a Sophomore Disputant at an Exhibition in Brothers. His subject was "Ought the United States to assist Greece in her present struggle for liberty?" Among the other topics which the society discussed during his membership, was "Ought the government of the U. States to take immediate measures for the Manumission of the slaves of our country?" Another debate, in which we are told that slavery, party spirit, sectional interest, and the presidential

election (1826) were the principal points on which the argument turned, was on "Is it probable that our country will continue united under its present form of government for a century?" Both questions were decided in the affirmative. The records, unfortunately, do not show the sides taken by the debaters. In December of his Junior year, just prior to his dismissal from college, the society discussed "Ought Missouri to have been admitted into the Union with the privilege of holding Slaves?" "All hammered away upon negitive [sic] till it got along up into the Junior Class when one, after apologizing for not having prepared himself, had the audacity to say that Congress had no right to withhold this privilege &c. &c. and set down." The records state that Mr. Mix alone, among the other members, ventured to support the affirmative. As Benjamin was one of only two or three Southerners who were Juniors in Brothers at this time, it is not improbable that he was the one who had the "audacity" to uphold the right of maintaining slavery.

There have been many rumors as to the real reason for his leaving Yale before receiving a degree. The Faculty minutes throw no light on the subject, but the following letter, now published for the first time, clearly shows that he had committed some serious offense against the government of College.

Charleston Jany 14th 1828

Reverend Jeremiah Day

Highly Respected Sir!

It is with shame and diffidence that I now address you to solicit your forgiveness and interference with the Faculty in my behalf. And I beseech you, Sir, not to attribute my improper conduct to any design or intentional violation of the laws of college, nor to suppose that I would be guilty of any premediated disrespect to yourself or any member of the Faculty. And I think, Sir, you will not consider it improper for me to express my hopes, that my previous conduct in college was such as will not render it too presumptuous in me to hope that it will make a favorable impression upon yourself and the Faculty.

Allow me, Sir, here also to express my gratitude to the Faculty for their kind indulgence to my father in regard to pecuniary affairs; and also to yourself and every individual member of the Faculty for their attention and paternal care of me, during the time I had the honor to be a member of the institution.

With hopes of yet completing my education under your auspices, I remain, Sir, your most respectful and obedient servant

J. P. Benjamin

P. S. May I solicit, Sir, (if not too troublesome to you) the favor of a few lines in answer to this letter, that I may be able to judge of the possibility of my return to the University?

J. P. Benjamin[1]

There is no evidence that President Day even presented this letter to the Faculty. Probably Benjamin and his roommate, John T. Boardman, were both involved in the ban, for the latter sent to the Faculty a week prior to the date of this letter, an apology "for whatever was done by me, contrary to their Laws or wishes in the late affairs." The exact cause of expulsion remains a mystery, but we cannot deny that Benjamin's petition was a dignified and manly one, and that it showed appreciation of what the University had done for him. His own reported statement does not seem to have included the whole truth: "I left college," he said, "in the fall of 1827, in consequence of my father's reverses rendering him unable to maintain me there any longer."[2]

He studied law in a notary's office in New Orleans, where he was admitted to the Bar in 1832. Although engaged in teaching school, he found time to prepare *A Digest of Reported Decisions of the Supreme Court of the late Territory of Orleans and of the Supreme Court of Louisiana,* which added to his growing reputation among lawyers. He soon rose to be the recognized leader of the Louisiana Bar, his most intimate associate being Thomas Slidell (B.A. 1825), afterwards Chief Justice of the state. Mr. Benjamin's legal talent and interest in constitutional questions early attracted him to public life. In 1845, he was a member of the Louisiana Constitutional Convention. Two years afterwards he was counsel to the United States Commissioner to investigate Spanish land-titles in California, and still later he was a Presidential Elector-at-Large

[1] "Papers relating to College Discipline," 1821-1830.
[2] Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin,* in *American Crisis Biographies,* p. 291.

from his state. These positions were all somewhat local in character, and it was not until his election to the United States Senate, in 1852, that he became well known to the nation.

During his decade in the Senate, he was recognized as a leader among the Southern Democrats, and as a strong advocate of the legal claims of slavery. With his colleague, John Slidell, of Mason and Slidell fame, and a brother of his Yale law partner, he withdrew from the Senate February 4, 1861, on the secession of Louisiana. Then began his remarkable career in the service of the Confederate government, of which he was generally considered the ablest member. He became in turn Attorney General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State, serving with success in the last position until the close of the war. He was an indefatigable worker. President Jefferson Davis, who earlier in his political career had been his opponent, became dependent upon him, making him his closest political adviser.

After the fall of the Confederacy, Benjamin escaped in an open boat from Florida to the Bahamas, and later went to England, where the second portion of his life was spent in a most creditable way. He began immediately the study of English law at Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the Bar in 1866, when fifty-five years of age. It was difficult for a newcomer without social or political influence, in a conservative community where eminent barristers were probably more numerous than in any other city in the world, to build up a large practice. His great legal work, published in 1868, attracted attention to his abilities, and his rise thereafter was rapid. This volume was *A Treatise on the Law of Sale of Personal Property.* It is still the standard authority in its field, both in England and America. The latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1910) calls it "the principal text book on its subject, and a fitting monument of the author's career at the English Bar, of his industry and learning."[3] It is hard to exaggerate the professional success which Benjamin attained during the fifteen years following the publication of this

[3] *Encyclopædia Britannica,* Vol. III, p. 740.

work on "Sales." In 1872, he was made Queen's Counsel, and his practice became so extensive that during the later years he confined himself exclusively to arguing appeal cases before the Privy Council and the House of Lords. His practice brought him over ten thousand pounds a year during the eight years prior to his withdrawal from practice, owing to ill-health. This event was made the occasion for a farewell banquet in the hall of the Inner Temple, attended by over two hundred members of the Bar, including the Lord Chancellor, the Attorney General, the Lord Chief Justice, the Master of the Rolls, etc.[4] Later he withdrew to Paris where his health failed rapidly.

Of the many reminiscences of his English career, there is none more interesting than the fragment left by the late Baron Pollock. This is of special value as he was the English legal preceptor of Benjamin, and became himself the recognized leader of the British Bar at the beginning of this century:

> It is more than thirty years since, to my great gain, I came to know J. P. Benjamin. From that time till his leaving England for Paris, not long before his death, we lived on terms of the closest intimacy, and when he was taken from us I felt that I had lost a charming companion, an accomplished Brother Lawyer, and a true friend, one I could not easily replace. His ways, his habits of thought, and modes of expression could never be forgotten, ... and when Cairns was Lord Chancellor he was so struck with Benjamin's arguments in a case before him, that he wrote him a note proposing, if Benjamin was willing, to appoint him one of Her Majesty's Counsel. This was accepted, and from that time Benjamin's practice increased, and he soon held a high position, and made as large an income as any barrister within the Bar.[5]

He played a conspicuous part as an advocate and promoter of the Southern cause. Here his work is part of the political history of the nation. But the thing for which his Alma Mater respects him most is that after reaching middle age, and under very discouraging conditions, he made American talent at the Bar honored in England, and produced a legal work that has endured as an invaluable authority for almost half a century.

[4] See *London Times*, July 2, 1883.
[5] *Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 69, March, 1898, pp. 355 and 359.

An interesting character sketch has recently been published in the *Atlantic Monthly* (1913), by Gamaliel Bradford, Jr. Its author is favorable to Benjamin's character and personality, but believes that his ability, except as a lawyer, has been exaggerated. *Judah P. Benjamin,* by Pierce Butler, in the series known as *American Crisis Biographies,* gives an account of his life and work.

Confederate States of America,
War Department,
Richmond, 9 December 1861—

Sir

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 3d inst.—

I am very sure that you can only have written the complaints contained in your letter under a total misapprehension of facts, and that your animadversion on the conduct of Col Gorgas in this instance at least is quite void of foundation.—

Permit me to state the facts to which my communication referred—

A large part of the public property at Harper's Ferry is still there exposed to loss and destruction by the enemy—It can only be saved by the military forces under command of the Confederate officers—

It is not for a moment intended by Col Gorgas or any officer of this department that any other disposal of this property be made than that sanctioned by your convention and partially effected by you—The only purpose is to get it out of the reach of the enemy to a place where it can be inventoried and disposed of in the same manner as all the other machinery—

The simple suggestion intended by Col Gorgas was this, viz, that as the property had to be snatched as it were from the grasp of the enemy, it should be sent here to be inventoried instead of attempting to inventory it at Harper's Ferry—

In my letter to you I asked that you yourself should fix such measures of precaution as you deemed necessary in regard to its delivery here—By this I meant that you should receive the property yourself, until the proper inventories could be made under such precautions for its delivery to the arsenal as you thought proper—

I cannot suppose that your Excellency prefers to leave the property at Harper's Ferry to having it saved and sent to Richmond, nor did I know that you expected it to be saved in any other manner than by the movements of the Confederate troops—Neither did it occur to me that you could have any

objection to postponing until your arrival in Richmond the making of an Inventory that might be impracticable in the hurried movement of saving the property—

If however you prefer moving the property yourself, I will of course abstain from ordering any attempt to do what I really thought was a service to you and the State of Virginia—

I am very resp^{t}.
Yr Ob^{t}. S^{t}.
J. P. Benjamin
Sec of War

Hon. John Letcher
Governor of V^{a}

Governor Letcher, to whom this letter is addressed, had opposed the policy of disunion, but when the Virginia Convention passed the secession ordinance he immediately placed the state's forces at the disposition of the Confederacy. Colonel Josiah Gorgas, the father of General Gorgas, whose name is inseparably linked with the Panama Canal, was in charge of the ordnance department of the Southern Army. As such he felt specially responsible for the valuable munitions of war stored at Harper's Ferry, the federal arsenal which had been seized by the state authorities in the spring of 1861. The letter indicates the difficulties of the extreme states rights position. Benjamin, as Secretary of War, had to use great tact to make the Southern states subordinate themselves to the needs of the central government at Richmond, and to prevent the apparent overlapping of state and "confederate" jurisdictions. Subsequent events proved that he was right in thinking that it would be dangerous to leave military stores at Harper's Ferry. It should be added, however, that he was not considered a conspicuous success as Secretary of War.

William Maxwell Evarts

Class of 1837

Born, February 6, 1818; Died, February 28, 1901

Leader of the American Bar, and Secretary of State

Mr. Evarts' brilliant career at the Bar gives him a prominent place in the history of the legal profession in America, and makes the study of his college career and of his later influence one of special interest. He was born in a Yale household in Boston, Massachusetts, where his honored father, Jeremiah Evarts (q.v.), was at that time editor of the *Panoplist,* one of the most influential Christian journals in America in the early part of the nineteenth century. He was named after his father's classmate, William Maxwell. His mother was a daughter of Yale's Treasurer, Roger Sherman, and as he himself had a brother and three sons at the College, he may be considered an embodiment of its traditions. He entered with the Class of 1837—one of the many modest classes which has adopted the adjective "famous" as descriptive of its character. But 1837 differs from most of its rivals in that the judgment of its members is confirmed by that of the outside public. The class contained a presidential candidate, whom many impartial historians believe to have been entitled to occupy the White House—Tilden; a Chief Justice of the United States—Waite; a Secretary of State—Evarts; an Attorney General and Minister to England—Pierrepont, and a member of the National Academy of Sciences—the younger Silliman,—a remarkable group to be found in a body of men which numbered only one hundred and four at graduation. The classes of 1746 and of 1778 alone can be compared with it in eminence.

It is not surprising that with such men among its number the class should have given birth to one of the most important of the institutions connected with the academic life of the University. The

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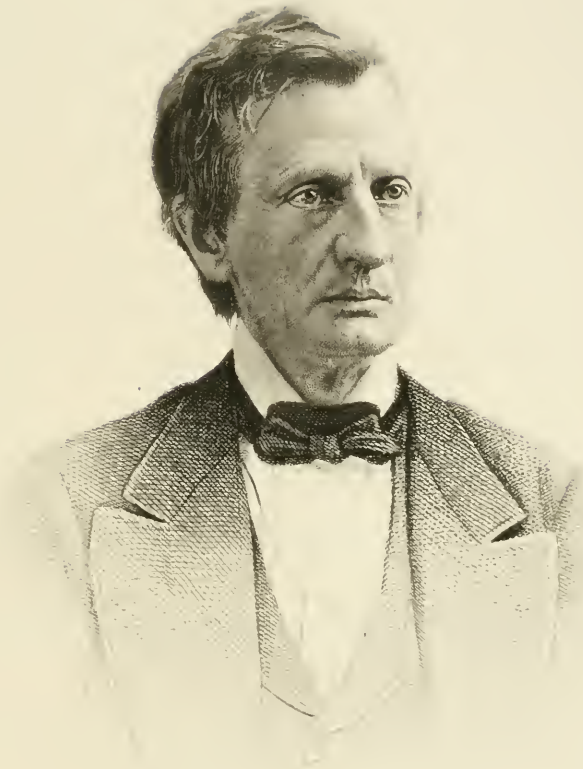

Yale Literary Magazine, the successor of many ephemeral college publications, which showed the growing literary interest of the time, was founded in 1836. Then the brown cover with the quaint woodcut of Elihu Yale, now familiar to every graduate, first appeared on the Campus. Its original sanctum was 125 South College, the room of Evarts and of his friend, William T. Bacon, who seems to have suggested the venture. Evarts proposed the name, and selected the Latin motto, while Professor Silliman (Senior) is responsible for the reproduction of the Yale portrait on the cover.[1] Evarts lived long enough to know that he had started an editorial succession which outlived that of any other college paper of the English-speaking world, and which set the standard for American undergraduate magazines of a literary character. The original prospectus has this statement of purpose:

> To foster a literary spirit, and to furnish a medium for its exercise; to rescue from utter waste the many thoughts and musings of a student's leisure hours; and to afford some opportunity to train ourselves for the strife and collision of mind which we must expect in after life;—such, and similar motives have urged us to this undertaking.

Here is the valedictory which he wrote on behalf of the first editorial board:

> Our opinion of the advantages resulting to the institution from such a publication has undergone no change. So long as its proper scope and province are well observed, so long as it is sustained with unanimity and vigor, it will be an honor and a service to our community; but should it ever be allowed to transgress the modesty, which our years and station enjoin, *should its management ever be made an object of party strife,* should it begin to languish or vibrate from energy to depression, its beauty and utility are at once destroyed.[2]

He took active part in the debates of Linonia, and delivered the address at its one hundredth anniversary, in 1853. In this he paid high tribute to the influence upon him and upon those of his generation of his old debating club. After referring to "the valuable benefits which its discipline afforded him, the full treasury of moral, intel-

[1] Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. I, p. 351.
[2] Quoted from Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. I, p. 353.

lectual, and social influences there gathered and ever since attending him," he continued:

> While, then, we greet the COLLEGE as the gracious mother of our intellectual life, from whose full breasts we drew the nutriment of learning, it is in this LINONIAN SOCIETY that we, who have met for this centennial commemoration, found the play-ground and arena, the palæstra, the forum, the agora, in which the new-born vigor was exercised and trained. It was here that the faculties acquired were first applied, and here were had the prelude and preparation for the public labors and conflicts of real life. . . . . I speak but the common sentiment of the graduates and friends of Yale College, and of all others who have had occasion to compare the system of education here, and its results, with the methods of other universities, when I attribute no small share of the permanent hold upon the confidence and respect of the whole country which this university has ever retained, to the influence of these great literary societies.[3]

He roomed for his first two years at Judge Baldwin's, but in Junior year moved to South College. In spite of receiving two warnings, and "a letter home" for "irregular conduct in the Hall,"[4] he had, on the whole, a career typical of the best Yale tradition, combining, as it did, membership in Phi Beta Kappa, on the Editorial Board of the "Lit.," and in one of the Senior societies—the oldest. The subject of his oration at the Junior Exhibition was "Philosophy in its influence on Revolutions." At Commencement his theme was "Intellectual Independence." He was considered a man of great ability and force of character. A classmate says that "he was always and everywhere the best mind of the class."[5] He graduated third, in spite of identifying himself heartily with what have since become known as extra-curriculum activities, and being the "minor bully." Evarts was one of the last men to hold the office, which was that of a sort of assistant to the Bully. "Bullyism" is the subject of an extended sketch in Kingsley's *Yale College,* so there is no need of a detailed account of the institution here. The Faculty voted, in 1840, to forbid the classes to appoint any "permanent leader or officer."[6]

[3] *Public Life, An Oration,* by William Maxwell Evarts . . . . Published by the Linonian Society, pp. 5-8.

[4] MS. Records of the Faculty, December 7, 1836.

[5] W. T. Bacon, see letter in Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. I, p. 481.

[6] MS. Faculty Records, October 2, 1840. Cf. vote of July 8, 1840: "Voted that the Faculty (though they have no predilection for the term Bully) advise the Chairmen to cease their opposition to Bullyism."

This was the climax of a long struggle between different student factions, which was brewing during Evarts' college career. He always retained, not only his Yale interest, but his university and class enthusiasm, and presided "de jure," as the Class Records put it, at all their reunions, in addition to serving as first President of the New York Alumni Association.

He began the study of law at Harvard, and finished it in New York under Daniel Lord (B.A. 1814), then one of the leaders of the Bar. Evarts' legal acumen, his brilliant mind, his knowledge of the principles of jurisprudence, soon made him a marked man. In 1849, he was chosen Assistant District Attorney of New York City, a position which he occupied with distinction for four years. In 1860, he became a national figure through his successful argument before the New York Court of Appeals of the Lemmon slave case, in which he was one of the counsel of New York State against Charles O'Conor, who represented Virginia. This connection still further strengthened his position as an anti-slavery man. He became prominent in the new Republican party, and as Chairman of the New York State delegation to the Chicago Convention, proposed the name of William H. Seward for the presidency. These two events of the year 1860 brought him to public attention as an advocate—one of the greatest America has produced—and it is as an advocate that his fame is most secure. He was Attorney General of the United States during the latter part of Johnson's term, the dignified American Secretary of State throughout the Hayes administration, and Senator from New York for the six years beginning in 1885. In spite of these ten years honorably and conspicuously spent in high public office, it was as a lawyer rather than as a statesman that he influenced the nation.

It is impossible in a brief article to do justice to the service he rendered in this way. He conducted the government's case to establish its right to vessels captured in the Civil War as maritime prizes (1862), maintained successfully the unconstitutionality of

state laws taking national bank stock and United States bonds without congressional authorization (1865-1866), brilliantly defended President Johnson in the impeachment trial (1868), assisted O'Conor in the trials which resulted in the breaking up of the Tweed Ring in New York (1871), argued convincingly the Alabama Claims before the Geneva Tribunal (1872), defended Henry Ward Beecher in the famous trial where the jury, after being locked up for a week, finally voted nine for acquittal to three against, and, in 1877, was the Republican party's representative before the Hayes-Tilden Electoral Commission. These are but a few of his conspicuous public cases at the Bar. He also, as head of the firm of Evarts, Choate & Beaman, had an extensive consulting practice, his opinions carrying much weight, and commanding the largest fees known to the profession in his generation. It was as a counsel before the courts advocating some great principle that Evarts was supreme. The Impeachment Trial showed him at his best, and represented probably his highest public service. Here is what Hon. Thomas Thacher (B.A. 1871), speaking on "Yale and the Law," said about this at the Yale Bicentennial:

> The roll of successful advocates is not easy to make up. . . . . The list is long and selection would be difficult. There is, however, one graduate of Yale whose name must occur to all, one who enjoyed unique opportunities and in them won unusual distinction and rendered unusual service. I need hardly say that I refer to William M. Evarts. When the conflict between Andrew Johnson and the dominant party in Congress led to the impeachment of the President, it was his privilege to appear in his defense before the Senate of the United States, sitting for the first time in a case of grand consequence as a court of impeachment. He successfully contended against a view of the relative powers of Congress and the Executive which, if established, would have destroyed the balance intended by the framers of the Constitution. On what a high plane did he put the discussion! With what dignity and force did he hold the tribunal to its high responsibilities, to its duty to act as a court and not as politicians, nor even as statesmen! By clear exposition and logical argument, by lofty and dignified eloquence and by occasional humor, relieving the tension and sending his points home, he made clear, so that none could overlook it, the purpose of the Constitution to make of the President, not an employee of Congress bound to do its bidding, but an independent coördinate branch of a well-balanced government, being protected by the Constitution, and

having the right and the duty to determine his course thereunder free from congressional coercion.[7]

This is high praise, but every historian knows that it is deserved. In one memorial address the speaker, referring to the Johnson impeachment case, says that "Webster has passed into history as the great expounder of the Constitution; Evarts will be remembered by posterity as the great defender of Executive independence against congressional encroachment and tyranny. . . . ."[8] In the course of the trial, Benjamin F. Butler insisted that the Senate could not act as a court. Evarts wittily retorted that his opponent knew that the only way he could prevent his cause from being turned out of court, was to turn the court out of his cause. Then becoming serious he asked:

> If this is not the altar of justice which we stand about, if we are not all here ministers of justice, to feed its sacred flame, what is the altar and what do we here about it? It is an altar of sacrifice, not of justice, ... erected to the divinity of party hate and party rage. To what end is this prodigious effort to expel from this tribunal all ideas of court and justice? What is it but a bold, reckless, rash and foolish avowal that, if it be a court, there is no cause here, that, upon judicial reason, upon judicial scrutiny, upon judicial weighing and balancing of facts and law, can result in a judgment against the President.[9]

He was much in demand on important public occasions, and had the reputation of being one of the most brilliant and witty after-dinner speakers in the country. President Dwight tells this characteristic story:

> On occasion of one of our Yale Commencement dinners I had the duty, as the presiding officer, of introducing the speakers. In performing this duty with reference to Mr. Evarts I said, in allusion to the well-known length of his sentences in public address, "Mr. Evarts will now give us a single sentence." He rose, and instantaneously replied, "It will be a life-sentence." Nothing, surely, could have been more apt and delightful, or more like himself.[10]

The University has known no more loyal graduate. He looked upon Yale, as he said in introducing President Woolsey to the great

[7] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, pp. 191, 192.
[8] Dougherty, *William M. Evarts, Lawyer and Statesman*, p. 32. (Address before the Brooklyn Institute.)
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[10] Dwight, *Memories of Yale Life and Men*, pp. 443, 444.

Union Army commemorative gathering in Alumni Hall, in 1865, as "our *alma mater* from whose full breasts we have drawn the nutriment of our intellectual life." He was one of the first group of Alumni Fellows chosen, in 1872, and he continued on the Corporation for three terms. He received the Doctorate of Laws from Yale as well as from Harvard and Union. He was a man of brilliant intellect and high character. A biography is in course of preparation by one of his sons. There are portraits in the Law School and in the Art School.

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7 W. 14th St.
Nov. 28. 1863

Dear Blatchford,

I send you a few autographs from notes I gathered in London and which I have happened to preserve. I believe none of them contain any thing of a personal or confidential nature and I am happy to be able to place them at the disposal of your fair correspondent for the benefit of the Great Charity in which we are all interested.

I give a little memorandum of them, tho' the writers are all well known.

1. Thos. Milner Gibson, long a leader in liberal politics and a member of Parliament and of Ld Palmerston's ministry.

2. Sir Henry Holland long famous in science and his own profession, and the Queen's physician.

3. The Rt Honble Edward Ellin, for 45 years a member of Parliament, and a leading Liberal and Reformer.

4. Thos. Baring, a member of Parliament and the present head of the house of Baring Bros & Co.

4½ Sir Jno. Taylor Coleridge, lately Justice of the Queen's Bench, and now a member of the Privy Council—a nephew of the poet.

5. Lord Monteagle, a famous Liberal in the times of the Reform bill, then known as Mr. Spring Rice.

6. Thos. Hughes, a barrister, author of "Tom. Brown at Oxford."

6½ Baron Lionel de Rothschild member of Parliament, once head of the London house of Rothschild.

7. Rt Honorable Jno. Evelyn Denison, Member of the House of Commons, & one of the best men in England.

8. Lord Cranworth, late Lord Chancellor of England.

9. Rt Honble Wm E. Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer & leader

of the Administration in the House of Commons, the first Orator in Parliament.

10. Richard Cobden, M.P.
11. The Duchess of Sutherland.

Yours Truly
Wᴹ M. Evarts.

S. Blatchford, Esq.

This letter is addressed to Samuel Blatchford, who was later appointed a Justice of the United States Supreme Court. It is interesting for Evarts' characterizations of many of the leading men of England, and as showing the kind of society which he had recently enjoyed in London, where he acted in a semi-official capacity for the United States in trying to prevent the recognition of the Confederacy. The autographs were placed on sale at the Sanitary Commission Fair.

Morrison Remick Waite

Class of 1837

Born, November 29, 1816; Died, March 23, 1888

Chief Justice of the United States

It is unfortunate from a Yale standpoint that Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth left New Haven after two years of study, later taking a degree from Princeton, but another Chief Justice, Morrison R. Waite, not only spent his four undergraduate years at Yale, but as a Fellow, and in other ways, was identified with the life of the University. He came of Yale stock. His father, Henry M. Waite (B.A. 1809), was Chief Justice of Connecticut, and the son was born in Lyme. A good account of Freshman life when the latter was an undergraduate is given in the *Life and Character of Sylvester Judd,* who was in the class ahead of him:

> It is not necessary that I give you the particulars of a Freshman's initiation. Suffice it to say, that we had smoking, breaking windows, stealing keys, calling before mock-tutors, and so forth. These a Freshman must endure, and with the more grace the better; for resistance seems almost vain.
>
> We board in commons; that is, some hundred or hundred and fifty students eat on the lower floor of a building, partitioned into rooms, connected by doors. Our fare is good, but we have noise and confusion without end. While the blessing is being asked at one table, there will be rapping, ringing bells, and hollowing for "Waiter, waiter," at another. This mixture of noise and sacred things is sometimes too great for my risibles, so that I am obliged to laugh in spite of myself.
>
> The college-bell wakes us at six in the morning, when we hurry on our clothes, wash in a hurry, and hurry to the chapel for prayers; some buttoning their vests, some tying their handkerchiefs, and all with the sleepy scales scarcely loosened from their eyes. This is too much a formality, I fear, in which religion is too solemnly mocked, but by which it is known that all the students are up, and ready for recitation, which immediately ensues.[1]

Waite was a Phi Beta Kappa man, a member of the oldest of the Senior societies, active in the affairs of the Brothers in Unity, and a loyal member of the "famous Class of 1837." His report as chair-

[1] Hall, *Life and Character of Sylvester Judd,* p. 39.

man of the Prudential Committee of Brothers, still preserved in manuscript, is a model of careful and conservative financial statement. At the Junior Exhibition he won an Oration appointment. His subject was the character of Oliver Cromwell. At Commencement he spoke "on the Science of Government." We know from his own statement what was the greatest single influence of his college course. It was the personality of Elias Loomis (q.v.), then a tutor. "If I have been successful in life, I owe that success to the influence of Tutor Loomis more than to any other cause whatever." He made a similar statement in his speech at the Yale banquet given in his honor in Washington, in 1874: "To a single word of encouragement, properly timed and properly spoken, which he gave me at the end of my first term in Freshman year, have I been accustomed to attribute much of my subsequent success both in and out of college." He closed his speech with the toast: "Our Alma Mater. We all love her. May the time never come when she can wish she had not loved us."[2] President Porter, at the same banquet said of the Chief Justice's undergraduate career:

> I think I knew the class pretty well; and it is pleasant for me to give my testimony that our guest was distinguished among his peers as a man of sound sense and modest pretensions, of entire fidelity and constant progress in all the duties and tasks which were imposed upon him; and such as was his college character has, as I am glad to know, been his subsequent career in life.[3]

An institutional influence in Waite's college course was the Brothers Society, of which he was President, and in whose welfare he took much interest. In addition to the training the societies gave in public speech, they were useful in handing down the traditions of the eminent Yale men of the past. This was especially helped by the "Statement of Facts," a public meeting early in Freshman year, when the orators of the debating clubs recounted, in grandiloquent phrases, the advantages of their respective organizations. The custom, as a formal institution, had only recently started when Waite entered

[2] Supplement to the *Yale Courant*, May 9, 1874.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

college.[4] Here is a typical speech by one of the orators of his society, doubtless similar to those to which he listened. The speaker refers to Silliman, Woolsey, Dwight, Bacon, Bushnell, Clayton, Calhoun, Percival, Gallaudet, Morse—all memorialized in this volume—and to others, as men who "were nurtured and disciplined in the halls of the Brothers, and there received the Achillean baptism that made their lives invulnerable," and closes with this peroration that doubtless turned the scales for many a doubting Freshman:

> Gentlemen, these are the men who wait to welcome you to the blessings of our Society. There they stand like the majestic statues that line the entrance to an eternal pyramid. And when I look upon one statue, and another, and another, and contemplate the colossal greatness of their proportions, as Canova gazed with rapture upon the sun-god of the Vatican, I envy not the man whose heart expands not with the sense of a new nobility, and whose eye kindles not with the heart's enthusiasm, as he thinks that he too is numbered among that glorious company,—that he too is sprung from that royal ancestry. And who asks for a richer heritage, or a more enduring epitaph, than that he too is a Brother in Unity?[5]

After graduation Waite pursued legal studies with his father, and in a lawyer's office in Maumee City, Ohio, where he was admitted to the Bar in 1839, but he removed to Toledo a decade later. There he formed a partnership with his brother (B.A. 1853) and rose steadily in professional reputation, until he was recognized so generally as leader of the Ohio Bar that, in 1874, he was unanimously elected chairman of the State Constitutional Convention. He served a term in the legislature, but declined all other political offices as well as a seat on the Supreme Court Bench of the state, devoting himself entirely to legal work. He first gained national reputation as one of America's counsel before the Geneva Arbitration Tribunal. There, with his classmate, Mr. Evarts, and with Hon. Caleb Cushing, he represented the United States Government with dignity and ability. He was specially charged with the task of proving British liability for allowing Confederate ships to coal in England during the Civil War. His clear, sincere, logical, and masterly presentation of the law and

[4] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, p. 193.
[5] Hall, *A Collection of College Words and Customs*, p. 448.

Morrison Remick Waite

Class of 1837

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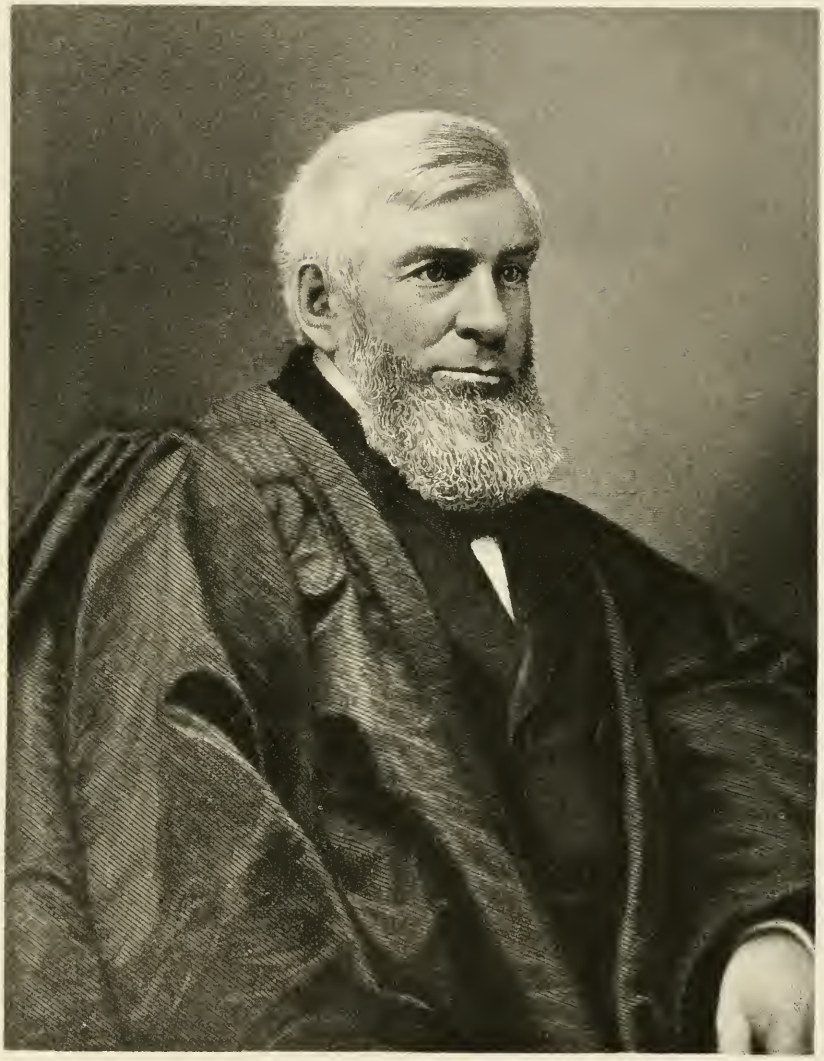
[4] Bagg, *Four Years at Yale*, p. 444.
[5] Hall, *A Collection of College Words and Customs*, p. 448.



of the facts involved carried much weight. It was the ability and wisdom which he showed before this International Court that satisfied the nation when he was nominated by President Grant to succeed Chief Justice Chase, in 1874. His career on the Bench may not have been brilliant, but it was a most dignified, useful, and honorable one. His administrative capacity was marked, as were also his unflagging industry, his knowledge of law, and his soundness and clearness in its interpretation. Joseph H. Choate thus estimated the value of his judicial services in his memorial address before the Association of the Bar of the City of New York:

> The press, Mr. Chairman, with its universal knowledge of men and things, has presumed generally to say that our late Chief-Justice was not to be classed among the great jurists of the English tongue. But, sir, if we can judge him by what he has done, there may be some ground for qualifying the generality of that opinion. To have worthily filled the highest judicial office in the country, and perhaps it is not too much to say, in view of its peculiar constitutional functions and duties, the highest and greatest judicial office in the world,—to have worthily worn for fourteen years the mantle that before his time had graced the shoulders of John Jay, and John Marshall, and Roger B. Taney, and Salmon P. Chase,—to have commanded from the beginning to the end of his judicial career, growing all the time in strength and power, the universal confidence of the profession and the community,—to have risen fully equal on all occasions to the great public and constitutional questions that came before him,—to have commanded the confidence and deference of his great associates, is certainly laying some claim to a place among the great jurists of our country and our race.[6]

Chief Justice Waite continued the best traditions of the American Bench by living up to his ideal of the complete separation of the judiciary from partisan politics. He refused to be considered as a possible candidate for the presidency in 1876, declined to serve on the Hayes-Tilden Electoral Commission, and although an earnest Republican when appointed to the Court, noticeably favored state rights in some of his opinions, while he did not hesitate to help in setting aside his party's legislation when he believed it to be unconstitutional.

[6] *Chief Justice Waite . . . . Memorial Before the Association of the Bar of The City of New York*, p. 12.

His private life was marked by the same ideals that characterized his public career. Both command complete respect. He succeeded Alphonso Taft (q.v.) as one of the Alumni Fellows, serving for six years from 1882. The University conferred upon him the honorary Doctorate of Laws on his return from the Geneva Tribunal.

Washington D.C.
Oct. 25: 1878

Dear Sir,

In times "way back" the branch of the Waite family to which I belong, became connected with the family of Remick. In that family was "Sir Morison Remick, General of his Deanish Majesty's Army at Sea, A.D. 1507"—At least so says an old record in the Waite family. My grandfather Waite's name was "Remick," and I was named for him with the prefix of "Morison"—At least this is the tradition, and as the "old record" descends to me in the family I have assumed that [it] tells the truth—

Truly Yrs.

M. R. Waite

Leonard A. Morrison Esq

This letter is self-explanatory. It was written to the author of the "History of the Morison or Morrison Family."

III. SUPPLEMENTARY NAMES

William Smith (Class of 1719), Born, 1697; Died, 1769.

Few of the early graduates of the College were more loyal to it than William Smith. He was for two years a tutor when the College was without a resident rector, and made so great a reputation in the position that, although a layman, he seems to have been offered the rectorship in succession to Cutler. It was due to his influence that Philip Livingston, the second Lord of the manor, sent his four distinguished sons to Yale. When Smith took up the practice of law in New York, he was "the only non-clerical graduate of any College residing in the city." He soon became the recognized leader of the Bar, and was considered by contemporaries "the most eloquent Speaker in the Province."[1] One of the famous cases in which he appeared as counsel was the defense of Zenger, the printer of the *New York Journal*, in a suit involving the principle of the freedom of the press. According to Gouverneur Morris, the trial, in 1735, "was the germ of American Freedom."[2] A little later he acted as Attorney General and Advocate General of New York, being considered by Governor Clinton "by far the most fit and able person in the Province to execute the same offices."[3] He was for years a member of the Governor's Council, and represented New York at the Albany Congress in 1754, when he served on the committee to draft a plan of colonial union. He declined the Chief Justiceship of the province, but later accepted a position on the Bench.

The collection contains an official signed document, all in Smith's handwriting, regarding a civil suit before the Mayor's Court of New York City "in the Thirteenth Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Second &c." (1734.)

Jared Ingersoll (Class of 1766), Born, 1749; Died, 1822.

He was the son of the famous Stamp Act agent of the same name (B.A. 1742). After graduating from Yale he went abroad for four years of legal study, the first half of this time being spent at the Middle Temple in London.

[1] *New York Gazette,* chronicling his death. Quoted by Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. I, p. 210.
[2] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration,* p. 178.
[3] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. I, p. 209.

He held important offices, including membership in the Continental Congress and in the United States Constitutional Convention, the Attorney Generalship of Pennsylvania, and the United States District Attorneyship of his section. He was a strong Federalist, and was the defeated candidate of his party for the vice-presidency with DeWitt Clinton, in 1812. Of Mr. Ingersoll's eminence as a lawyer, a distinguished authority has written:

> In his full vigor, which continued for nearly twenty years after the year 1797, I regard him as having been without comparison the most efficient manager of an important jury trial among all the able men who were then at the Bar of Philadelphia. . . . . Mr. Ingersoll's devotion, after I knew him, was to the law, singly and unremittingly, with a decided preference for its investigations and labors; nor did anything, until old age came upon him and impaired his sight, break off or interfere with the great engagement of his life.[4]

The letter is written to Elias Boudinot, former President of the Continental Congress, regarding the administration of an estate.

Zephaniah Swift (Class of 1778), Born, 1759; Died, 1823.

He graduated from Yale in a distinguished class, taking for his Master's discussion the affirmative of *An universæ literaturæ diffusio, diffusioni Religionis universalis antecesserit.* His *System of the Laws of Connecticut*, issued in 1793, was the first publication of its kind in America, and brought its author deserved honor. In its revised form, known as Swift's *Digest*, it was for many years an authoritative work in different parts of the country, both in instruction and before the courts. It is on these and other legal works that his fame mainly rests, although he was also an influential member of Congress, and an able judge, being for several years Chief Justice of Connecticut. In the last position his influence was so great that, according to one of his distinguished successors, writing a century later, many factors "combined to give whatever he uttered as Chief-Justice the stamp of authority, and make in every case the first word of the court [spoken by Swift] also the last word."[5]

The letter, written March 15, 1798, encloses a copy of a communication which he had just received from his classmate, Senator Uriah Tracy, regarding the discussion in Congress about the cession of the Western Reserve. In reply Swift authorizes him "to propose and consent to all the provisions and restrictions in the Act : . . . if the Cession shall be accepted in that manner, there is not the remotest danger that our title to the soil will ever be drawn

[4] Binney, *The Leaders of the Old Bar of Philadelphia*, pp. 85-87.
[5] Baldwin, in *Great American Lawyers*, p. 475.

in question." It was largely due to another Yale graduate, Stephen Mix Mitchell (B.A. 1763), that Connecticut had previously made good her title to the land of the Western Reserve in Ohio.

ROGER MINOTT SHERMAN (Class of 1792), Born, 1773; Died, 1844.

He was named after his distinguished uncle, Roger Sherman (Hon. M.A. 1768), who, although not a college graduate, was for many years Treasurer of Yale. The nephew worked his way largely through his course, teaching in a New Haven school during the last two years. At this time he was in close touch with undergraduate life. He united, in 1795, with three others in presenting to the Prudential Committee a formal protest against doing away with fagging and the instruction in college manners given Freshmen by Seniors. The petitioners held that the former "being a great part of them rude, from rude towns & families" would "assume a haughtiness and importance & learn vices" if not subjected to proper discipline and instruction by upperclassmen! The custom continued for another decade.

After graduation he studied law and served as a college tutor. He held various public positions, including, for a few years, membership in the Connecticut Supreme Court, and was prominent in the Hartford Convention, but his reputation rests mainly on his career as a lawyer. During his forty years at the Bar, it is believed that he argued more cases than any one in the state in the early part of the nineteenth century, while his fame as an advocate entitled him to take rank with the most eminent lawyers of his day, such as Daniel Webster and Jeremiah Mason (q.v.).[6] He was seriously considered for the presidency of the College after Dr. Dwight's death, and deserved the degree of Doctor of Laws which it conferred upon him.

The collection contains a fine letter to the well-known lawyer, Samuel J. Hitchcock (B.A. 1809): "Now Sir, I wish you to inform me whether you have known any case, in which the court have abated the 2^{d} Suit because the first was pending, if the suit was not abandoned as soon as it could be," etc.

ROGER SHERMAN BALDWIN (Class of 1811), Born, 1793; Died, 1863.

He first came into national prominence as a lawyer by his defense before the United States Supreme Court, in 1839-1840, of the "Amistad Captives," where his strong anti-slavery views enabled him to speak with conviction, and to urge the contention then questioned, that "the United States, as a nation,

[6] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. V, pp. 43, 44.

is to be regarded as a free state."[7] Later he was Governor of Connecticut, and United States Senator. The respect in which his ability and character were held is shown by his being selected as one of the Connecticut delegation to the National Peace Convention, in 1861. He prepared its minority report, urging that the states petition Congress for the calling of a convention to consider amendments to the Federal Constitution. He was eminent at the Bar, having the most lucrative practice in the state, and was considered by some the ablest lawyer Connecticut had produced. He showed his dominant life interest when an undergraduate, his Commencement Oration being "on the Genius of a Free Government."

The letter, written from New Haven, in May, 1834, is addressed to Truman Smith (B.A. 1815), then United States Senator. It has this reference to the battle that was being waged around President Jackson in his opposition to the rechartering of the United States Bank, and to the Nullification Ordinances:

> The Resolutions reported to the General Assembly by the joint committee on that part of the Governor's message relating to the Proceedings of the President in regard to the Bank, the Senate &c were adopted yesterday by the House of Rep^ves by a vote of 148 to 45, and this afternoon in the Senate by a vote of 16 to 5. The 4^th Resolution specifying various particulars in which the President "has infringed the fundamental principles of our government" &c was passed with only two dissenting voices. . . . .

Francis Wharton (Class of 1839), Born, 1820; Died, 1889.

Dr. Wharton had a varied career. He began by being a lawyer, then became Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, English Literature and History at Kenyon College, following this by several years' service as rector of a church in Massachusetts, and by filling for fifteen years the professorship of Ecclesiastical Polity, Homiletics, and Pastoral Care at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge. During the last four years of his life he was Solicitor of the State Department. In spite of these very different occupations, he was engaged throughout his professional life in writing legal works of learning and permanent value. These began in 1846 with his *Treatise on the Criminal Law of the United States.* He also wrote volumes on the Law of Homicide, Medical Jurisprudence, the Law of Contracts, etc., but his greatest work was his standard three-volume *Digest of the International Law of the United States.* He also edited the six volumes of the *Revolutionary*

[7] *New Haven Colony Historical Society Papers,* Vol. IV, p. 370.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, which is prefaced by an obituary notice prepared by John Bassett Moore, recently of the State Department. He was a man of remarkable ability and of real nobility of character.

He writes enclosing a legal article for publication, apparently in the *Encyclopædia Americana*. "It gives the prevalent doctrines on the topics discussed in Judge Story's book & my book on the Conflict of laws, & in the treatises on the same topic of Savigny & Bar."

David Josiah Brewer (Class of 1856), Born, 1837; Died, 1910.

Justice Brewer was the son of a Yale missionary in Asia Minor, Josiah Brewer (B.A. 1821). His college career was mainly marked by high scholarship. He was a Philosophical Oration man, and won prizes in Latin, mathematics, and astronomy. Soon after his admission to the Bar, he removed to Kansas, where he rose through various public offices to be Associate Justice of the State Supreme Court, and later Judge of the United States Circuit Court. From this he was transferred by President Harrison, in 1889, to the Supreme Court of the United States, where he had Yale company with his classmate, Henry Billings Brown, and with George Shiras (B.A. 1853). During his twenty-one years' membership in this highest of tribunals, he wrote over seven hundred opinions, many of them having a large influence, such as that upholding the Federal Government's right of interfering directly to insure the transmission of the mails and to prevent obstruction to interstate commerce, handed down at the time of the Chicago railroad strike. His decisions were noted for their independence, and for their liberal humanitarian tendencies. In addition to his career on the Bench, Justice Brewer was a national figure as a citizen, and was identified with a large number of educational, philanthropic, and religious movements. He rendered important service as presiding officer of the Venezuelan Boundary Commission, appointed by President Cleveland. An evidence of the regard in which he was held is the fact that seven representative institutions of learning, in different parts of the country, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws.

The letter is a brief one to the editor acknowledging receipt of certain material which Justice Brewer desired in preparing his Bicentennial Address. This latter contained these memorable words, which the orator's own experience enabled him to utter with special conviction:

Wisely did the ten Congregational ministers lay the foundations of Yale. They searched the horizon, and planned for immortality. With clear eye they saw that

the two great institutions by which society is moved and humanity lifted up are the Church and the State, and they purposed that the new College should train for service in them. . . . .

She was the first educational institution in the world to make the fitting for public service the expressed and dominant purpose of her educational work. In this country the two earlier colleges were Harvard, in Massachusetts, and William and Mary, in Virginia. In neither of their charters is there any recognition of public service as the purpose of their lives or training. Even if similar language be found in the charters of educational institutions across the waters prior to that time, it must be remembered that public service there meant service of the monarch. So it may fairly be claimed that Yale was the first educational institution in the world to make training for service of the public the supreme object of her life and work.

What a noble, inspiring purpose! True service of the public is not mere office-seeking or office-holding, for either of them may go with the poorest kind of service and with constant thought of private gain or personal ambition. It is a striving to promote the interests of the great body of the people; a seeking of the general welfare; an effort to make the lives of all sweeter, purer, nobler; it is service of the public and for the public.[8]

[8] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration,* pp. 380, 381.

CHAPTER IX

PATRIOTS AND SOLDIERS

I. THE UNIVERSITY'S CONTRIBUTION TO PATRIOTISM

The term patriot has been generally applied to men who have served their nation with valor in time of war. It is to be hoped that as peace between nations becomes more general the definition of the word may be broadened, for today it is accepted as a commonplace that patriotism may be evidenced by devotion to high public ideals in any profession and at any time. But, adopting the customary usage, we shall find that Yale's contribution of men who have successfully fought for the cause of liberty has been a conspicuous one.

The nation has been engaged in two military conflicts of the first rank—the War of Independence and the Civil War—and in four lesser, though important, struggles—the French and Indian wars, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the Spanish War.

The French and Indian wars are included, although before the formation of the federal government, because they gave the colonies a coherence which helped later to develop a feeling of nationality, and because they determined finally the all-important question of Anglo-Saxon domination on the continent. The Mexican War is omitted from detailed consideration as it did not represent an uprising of the entire nation, and consequently did not draw so largely as our other wars upon volunteer troops, in which university men, other than West Point and Annapolis graduates, have the largest chance to become prominent. Colonel Henry Rootes Jackson (B.A. 1839), afterwards Brigadier General in the Confederate Army, and American Minister to Austria and Mexico, and Captain Cassius Marcellus Clay (B.A.

1832), whose later career is described elsewhere in this volume, may be taken as representative Yale officers in this contest. A Yale man, General Phineas Lyman (B.A. 1738), also led the expedition against Havana, in 1762, while another, General John Ashley (B.A. 1758), commanded in the most severe engagement involved in suppressing Shays' Rebellion. The long-drawn-out conflicts with the Indian tribes of the West have mainly engaged the regular army, but it is interesting to remember that Majors John Palsgrave Wyllys (B.A. 1773) and Jonathan Heart (B.A. 1768), of the first American regiment, were among the earliest officers of the United States Army to render conspicuous service in this connection—both giving up their lives on the battle field to meet the stern necessities of advancing civilization. These examples from the annals of our minor conflicts, taken with the facts to be presented regarding each of the more significant national contests, will, it is believed, make a Yale record for patriotism that no American university can surpass.

French and Indian Wars

One of the ablest colonial leaders in this contest was a Yale graduate, Phineas Lyman (B.A. 1738), who was the Commander-in-chief in many of the most important engagements from 1755 on, and who, in 1762, was in charge of the New England forces engaged in the expedition against Havana. His military record was conspicuous for bravery and skill. The total number of Yale men who are known to have served in the French and Indian wars was about sixty. The list includes such well-known names as Colonel David Wooster (B.A. 1738), Colonel Eleazar Fitch (B.A. 1743), Rev. John Norton (B.A. 1737), the "Redeemed Captive," and Lieutenant Colonel Nathan Whiting (B.A. 1743). In the year 1756-1757, when the French War was at its height, there were about five hundred and fifty living graduates of the College. Of these over ten per cent had entered or were about to enter the military force of the colonies to protect them against their northern enemies. This required an

aggressive campaign. No special record of Yale's services in these expeditions has been published, so a list is added[1] of those graduates who are known to have taken part. There are doubtless some omissions, but the number as given at least shows the patriotism of the college men of the time, and may be of help to some future historian.

The Revolutionary War

The University has never played a more conspicuous or more admirable part in American history than it did at the time of the Revolution. Yale educated four of the members of the Convention which framed the national Constitution, and the same number of

[1] The following are known to have fought at Crown Point, Louisburg, Ticonderoga, or other battles, or to have belonged to regiments raised for the northern campaigns in the middle of the eighteenth century. The list has been prepared from the biographies in Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*

1718 Timothy Collins, Surgeon
1721 William Brintnall, Captain
1724 Simon Backus, Chaplain
Nathaniel Farrand, Captain
Ashbel Woodbridge, Chaplain
1725 Gurdon Saltonstall, Commissary
1726 John Whiting, Colonel
1728 George Beckwith, Chaplain
John Patterson, Lieutenant
1729 George Wyllys, Lieutenant Colonel
1730 Israel Ashley, Surgeon
1731 Elihu Hall, Captain
Alexander Wolcott, Surgeon
1732 Seth Field, Captain
Timothy Woodbridge, Chaplain
1733 Benjamin Pomeroy, Chaplain
Samuel Talcott, Colonel
1736 Joseph Farnsworth, Surgeon
Jonathan Ingersoll, Chaplain
1737 Mark Leavenworth, Chaplain
John Norton, Chaplain
1738 Phineas Lyman, Major General
David Wooster, Captain
1740 Adonijah Bidwell, Chaplain
Eliphalet Dyer, Colonel
1741 John Herpin, Commissary
1742 Samuel Fitch, Lieutenant
Joseph Hawley, Chaplain
Jonathan Lee, Chaplain
1743 David Burr, Lieutenant
1743 Nathan DeWolf, Commissary
Eleazar Fitch, Colonel
Nathan Whiting, Lieutenant Colonel
1744 Leverett Hubbard, Surgeon
1745 James Beebe, Chaplain
Elihu Lyman, Commissary
Nathanael Taylor, Chaplain
1746 John Brainerd, Chaplain
Elihu Spencer, Chaplain
1747 Chauncey Graham, Chaplain
Oliver Wolcott, Captain
1748 John Ogilvie, Chaplain
James Wadsworth, Captain
1749 Gideon Hawley, Chaplain
Joseph Strong, Chaplain
1750 Ebenezer Dyer, Commissary
Isaac Isaacs, Captain
Elihu Tudor, Surgeon
1751 Giles Russell, Captain
1752 Henry Babcock, Captain
1753 John Law, Aide-de-camp and Commissary
1755 John Stoughton, Lieutenant
1757 Ebenezer Case, Lieutenant
Zenas Huggins, Private
1758 Ambrose Collins, Chaplain
1759 Nathaniel Hubbard, Surgeon
1760 Eliakim Fish, Surgeon's Mate
Ebenezer Jesup, Surgeon
1765 Theophilus Chamberlain*
1770 Andrew Hillyer*

(Elisha Williams, Rector of Yale College from 1725 to 1739, was Colonel of the projected but abortive Canadian Expedition of 1746.)

* Private in the war prior to entering college.

Signers of the Declaration of Independence[2]—Philip Livingston (B.A. 1737) and Lewis Morris (1746), of New York, Oliver Wolcott (B.A. 1747), of Connecticut, and Lyman Hall (B.A. 1747), of Georgia. The name of William Livingston (B.A. 1741), of New Jersey, would have been added had not military duties caused his absence from the Convention, to which he was duly elected.[3] When the war with the mother country was begun at Lexington, in 1775, there were about nine hundred living Yale graduates.[4] Of these one-fourth (234)[5] rendered some service in the Continental Army. The achievements of these men have been commemorated in Professor Johnston's admirable volume, *Yale and her Honor-Roll in the American Revolution,* often referred to in these pages. Twelve of them reached the rank of General:

Joshua Babcock (B.A. 1724), Major General, Rhode Island Militia.
Gurdon Saltonstall (B.A. 1725), Brigadier General, Connecticut Militia.
David Wooster (B.A. 1738), Brigadier General, Continental Army.
Jabez Huntington (B.A. 1741), Major General, Connecticut Militia.
William Livingston (B.A. 1741), Brigadier General, New Jersey Militia.
Lewis Morris (B.A. 1746), Brigadier General, New York Militia.
John Morin Scott (B.A. 1746), Brigadier General, New York Troops.
Oliver Wolcott (B.A. 1747), Major General, Connecticut Troops.
James Wadsworth (B.A. 1748), Major General, Connecticut Militia.
Gold Selleck Silliman (B.A. 1752), Brigadier General, Connecticut Militia.
Timothy Danielson (B.A. 1756), Brigadier General, Massachusetts Militia.
John Paterson (B.A. 1762), Brigadier General, Continental Army.

Among the other officers of high rank and distinguished services were William Hull (B.A. 1772), Lieutenant Colonel in the Continental Army, whose bravery at the storming of Stony Point and in many battles led Washington to invite him "as an officer of great merit"[6] to become one of his aides, Lieutenant Colonel David Humphreys

[2] Oliver Wolcott (q.v.) was the most distinguished of the Yale Signers. It is interesting to note that of these fifty-six "Immortals" twenty-six were college men, divided as follows: Harvard, 8; Yale, 4; William and Mary, College of Philadelphia, and Cambridge, 3 each; Princeton and Edinburgh, 2 each; and French Colleges, 1. This gives the college men (without counting those who studied law at the Temple in London) almost one-half of the body, while several of the remainder, especially from among the southern representatives, received a classical education in their own homes.

[3] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 188.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 349. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 279.

(B.A. 1771), Washington's intimate friend and Aide-de-camp, and probably the most prominent, next to Wooster, of Yale's Revolutionary officers, Colonel Daniel Hitchcock (B.A. 1761), of the Continental Army, whose brilliant services at the battle of Princeton were recognized by the Commander-in-chief,[7] Lieutenant Colonel Ebenezer Huntington (B.A. 1775), appointed Brigadier General of the regular army in 1799, and Benjamin Tallmadge (B.A. 1773), Major of the Continental Dragoons, who managed the secret service for General Washington with marked success. It is not so much the high military positions that these men held as their spirit of self-sacrifice that Yale most honors. It was the spirit immortalized by Captain Nathan Hale, of the Class of 1773, whose dying words will specially inspire the youth of Yale to the end of time: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

It is a pleasure to know that the officers of the institution and the student body so shared the patriotic feeling of the period, in fact, did so much to create it, that the most bitter of the small group of graduates who were loyalists could pay his Alma Mater the tribute involved in his taunt that Yale was "a nursery of sedition, of faction, and republicanism."[8]

War of 1812

It is difficult to state exactly how many graduates served in this second conflict with England, but the military records of sixty-five have been traced, and, as not heretofore brought together, are added in a footnote.[9] The most conspicuous names are those of Generals

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 61.

[8] Judge Thomas Jones (B.A. 1750). *Ibid.*, p. 99.

[9] This list includes only graduates. Among the prominent non-graduate officers was Colonel Joseph Lee Smith, whose son became the famous Confederate leader, General E. Kirby Smith. The information from which this list has been prepared has been mostly secured from Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*

1771 David Humphreys, Brigadier General, Connecticut Militia.
1772 William Hull, Brigadier General, U. S. A.
Moses C. Welch, Chaplain, U. S. A.
1774 Aaron Jordan Bogue, Chaplain.
1776 Augustine Taylor, Major General, Connecticut Militia.
1777 Jared Mansfield, Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. A.
1782 John Lovett, Military Secretary to General Van Rensselaer.

Hull and Porter. The former's reputation has suffered, partly because he was made a scapegoat to "save the face" of an administration which had not been successful in adequately supporting its officers at the front. His surrender of Detroit is now believed, by competent historians, to have been not without some justification. His judgment is questioned by many, his patriotism and personal bravery by none. General Peter Buell Porter (B.A. 1791) rendered such signal service in the war that his biography is included. A study

[9] (Continued.)

1785 Joseph Badger, Brigadier Chaplain and Postmaster, U. S. A.
Samuel Huntington, Colonel, U. S. A.
Decius Wadsworth, Colonel, U. S. A.
1786 Isaac Maltby, Brigadier General, Massachusetts Militia.
Jacob R. Van Rensselaer, Lieutenant Colonel, New York Militia.
1787 Elisha Sterling, Major General, Connecticut Militia.
1788 John Salter, Colonel, Connecticut Militia.
1790 Benjamin Wooster, Captain, New York Militia.
1791 Peter Buell Porter, Major General, U. S. A.
1795 George Tod, Major and Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. A.
1796 Ruggles Hubbard, Captain.
1797 Jirah Isham, Brigadier General, Connecticut Militia.
1799 Henry Meigs, Adjutant, New York Militia.
1800 Pitkin Cowles, Chaplain, Connecticut Militia.
Henry Smith, Private, U. S. A.
Chauncey Whittelsey, Brigadier General, Connecticut Militia.
1801 William Van Deursen, Captain, U. S. A.
1802 Jesup N. Couch, Aide-de-camp to Governor Meigs (B.A. 1785).
Nathan Johnson, Captain, Connecticut Militia.
Ebenezer Moseley, Colonel, Massachusetts Militia.
1803 George Hall, Chaplain, U. S. A.
Jacob Bond I'On, Captain, U. S. A.
Jared Scarborough, Captain, Cavalry Corps.
William A. Taylor, "in service."
1804 Sumner Ely, Captain, New York Militia.
John M. Felder, Major, South Carolina Militia.
George Plummer, Brigade Major, Connecticut Militia.
Jeremiah Vanderbilt, Major, New York Militia.
Charles H. Wetmore, Surgeon, New York Militia.
1805 Ebenezer Gray, 1st Lieutenant, U. S. A.
1806 Henry Carleton, Lieutenant, U. S. A.
Samuel S. Conner, Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. A.
James Gadsden, 2d Lieutenant, U. S. A.
Charles H. Havens, Surgeon, New York Militia.
Alfred Hennen, Corporal, U. S. A.
James Root, "active participant in the War of 1812."
1807 Henry W. Channing, Major, New York Militia.
John L. Tomlinson, Lieutenant, Connecticut Militia.
1808 Timothy Phelps Beers, Surgeon, Connecticut Militia.
Jonathan E. Chaplin, Aide-de-camp to General Porter, U. S. A.
Joseph Delafield, Major, U. S. A.
John B. Murdock, 1st Lieutenant and Brevet Major, U. S. A.
Septimus Tyler, Captain, U. S. A.
1809 Hezekiah B. Chaffee, "saw active service" in New York Militia.
Hugh Robinson, New York State Militiaman.
Alexander Wolcott, Surgeon's Mate, U. S. A.

of the positions held by the Yale men who took part, from Hull and Porter down, shows an active spirit of patriotism among the graduates.

The Civil War

The part played by Yale men in helping to save the Union is so well described in the volume[10] published by the College at the close of the war that there is no need of entering into details here. The roll of honor, although incomplete, gave the record of five hundred and fifty-one graduates, and of two hundred and seven non-graduates, who served in the northern army, the large number of the latter being due to the fact that this was preëminently a young man's war, and that consequently scores of undergraduates left their studies and were unable to return later for a degree. But the army contained representatives of all ages. It is worthy of record that the earliest graduate on the list was the poet and reformer, Chaplain John Pierpont (B.A. 1804), while the last named in the College is "Sergeant Henry P. Wright" (B.A. 1868), then a student, afterwards the honored Dean. Over a hundred Yale men were killed or died of wounds during the contest on the northern, and about fifty on the southern side.[11]

There were approximately four thousand five hundred living graduates[12] and students when the war broke out. Of these about fifteen per cent engaged in the struggle.

[9] (Continued.)

1810 Ethan Allen Andrews, Aide-de-camp to General Lusk, Connecticut Militia.
Dyar T. Brainard, Surgeon, Connecticut Militia.
Luther Spaulding, Hospital Assistant, Connecticut Militia.
1811 Samuel B. Northrop, Captain, U. S. A.
Samuel Shethar Phelps, Paymaster, U. S. A.
Frederick A. Tallmadge, Captain, New York Militia.
1812 George Bliss, Aide-de-camp to General Bliss, Massachusetts Militia.
Theodore Dexter, Hospital Surgeon, U. S. A.
Isaac Trimble Preston, Captain, U. S. A.
William Rumsey, "service in the army."
Caleb S. Woodhull, "service in the army."
1813 David Bates Douglass, Captain, U. S. A.

[10] *The Commemorative Celebration, held at Yale College, Wednesday, July 26, 1865.*

[11] Their names are to be inscribed on tablets in Memorial Hall. For preliminary list see *Yale Alumni Weekly,* March 11, 1910.

[12] The *Catalogue of Officers and Graduates,* of 1859, shows 3,915 living graduates, excluding honorary degree recipients.

The following graduates and non-graduates rose to the rank of General in the Union Army:

Daniel Ullmann (B.A. 1829), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
James S. Wadsworth (Class of 1830, Law School), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Alpheus Starkey Williams (B.A. 1831), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Cassius Marcellus Clay (B.A. 1832), Major General, U. S. V.
William Henry Noble (B.A. 1832), Brevet Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Henry W. Benham (Class of 1836), Brevet Major General, U. S. V.
Lewis Baldwin Parsons (B.A. 1840), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
William Birney (Class of 1841),[13] Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Theodore Runyon (B.A. 1842), Major General, U. S. V.
Charles Henry Crane (B.A. 1844), Surgeon General, U. S. A.
Orris Sanford Ferry (B.A. 1844), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Henry Beebee Carrington (B.A. 1845), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
William Burnham Woods (B.A. 1845), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Henry Case (B.A. 1846), Brevet Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Alfred Howe Terry (Class of 1849, Law School), Brigadier General, U. S. A., Major General, U. S. V.
John Willock Noble (B.A. 1851), Brevet Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Albert Webb Bishop (B.A. 1853), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Edward Harland (B.A. 1853), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
James Clay Rice (B.A. 1854), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Stewart L. Woodford (B.A. 1854), Brevet Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Lewis M. Dayton (Class of 1855, Graduate School), Brigadier General, U. S. A.
Wager Swayne (B.A. 1856), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
John Thomas Croxton (B.A. 1857), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Charles L. Fitzhugh (Class of 1859), Brigadier General, U. S. V.
Horatio Jenkins, Jr. (Class of 1861), Brevet Brigadier General, U. S. V.

Among the graduates of lower official rank who distinguished themselves, and who were killed in the war, were: Major Theodore Winthrop (B.A. 1848), whose early death in action created a national impression, Captain William Wheeler (B.A. 1855), an ideal officer who lost his life under circumstances of conspicuous bravery, brilliant Major Edward Blake (B.A. 1858), killed at Cedar Mountain, and Major Henry Camp (B.A. 1860), known to many from Henry Clay Trumbull's biography as *The Knightly Soldier,* of whom Horace Bushnell said: "My impression of him is that I have never known so

[13] Major General Francis P. Blair, Jr., was a member of this class, but graduated from Princeton.

much of worth, and beauty, and truth and massive majesty—so much, in a word, of all kinds of promise—embodied in any young person."[14] He was of the same fibre as Nathan Hale, and was capable of a like sacrifice.

The following reached the rank of General in the Confederate Army:

William H. T. Walker (Class of 1839, Law School), Major General.
James Camp Tappan (B.A. 1845), Brigadier General.
Richard Taylor (B.A. 1845), Major General.
Isaac Munroe St. John (B.A. 1845), Brigadier General.
Randall Lee Gibson (B.A. 1853), Major General.
James Edward Rains (B.A. 1854), Brigadier General.

But as in the Union Army, so here, much of the truest bravery was shown by officers of lower rank. Of these Colonel William Preston Johnston (B.A. 1852), of Jefferson Davis' staff, and Colonel William T. S. Barry (Class of 1841), who, after being President of the Mississippi Secession Convention, raised a regiment and served as its Colonel throughout the war, may be taken as representative.

A Yale poet, Francis Miles Finch (q.v.), himself a strong Union supporter, has given classic expression in "The Blue and the Gray" to the spirit in which the University is about to show its respect in the Civil War Memorial to the men who lost their lives in the great conflict:

No more shall the war-cry sever,
Or the winding rivers be red:
They banish our anger forever
When they laurel the graves of our dead!
Under the sod and the dew,
Waiting the Judgment Day:—
Love and tears for the Blue;
Tears and love for the Gray.

The sons of Yale are thankful that its officers and the large majority of its graduates were on the side of the Union. But they do not withhold the meed of respect to all who fought bravely even unto death for what they believed to be right.

[14] *The Commemorative Celebration*, p. 30.

In national political statesmanship during the crisis Yale was not specially conspicuous, but it was not a time when college graduates were found so largely in public life as they are today. The nation's best blood and highest intellect were going into literature, commerce, and the professions, thereby helping to inspire and develop the expanding country. It was a time of readjustment, but this did not prevent a magnificent stream of youth, not surpassed in any college in the land, pouring out from the walls of Yale to defend their country, and no college gave them more inspiring help from the pulpit. Horace Bushnell (B.A. 1827) and Leonard Bacon (B.A. 1820) became towers of national strength, but there were scores and scores, yes, hundreds, of Yale pastors scattered through the country who were rendering the same faithful service to the Union cause. Among them were the members of the Illinois Band—a group of seven graduates of the Yale Divinity School in the Class of 1829—whose work, according to Abraham Lincoln, determined the issue of the struggle between the forces of slavery and of freedom in that pivotal state.[15]

Spanish–American War

Over three hundred Yale men are known to have enlisted in the Spanish-American War. Of these two hundred and fifteen were graduates (including a few prominent non-graduates) and eighty-five students. Seven men—among them such fine young officers and representative alumni as Ward Cheney (B.A. 1896), Theodore Miller (B.A. 1897), and Augustus Ledyard (B.A. 1898), all of whom have had memorials erected to them on the grounds of the University—lost their lives in the service, either during the war or in the pacification of the Philippines in the years immediately following. A record of the military careers of the graduates in this contest has been published,[16] so details here are unnecessary. About

[15] *Yale Bicentennial Celebration*, p. 158.
[16] *Yale Alumni Weekly*, Vol. VIII, pp. 315-334.

one-third of them (ninety-six) were commissioned officers; two were Brigadier Generals. When the war broke out the total number of graduates and undergraduates was about twelve thousand five hundred, so that approximately one out of every forty-two eligible Yale men enlisted. The war was not sufficiently long or important to draw out the full strength of the alumni body.

This survey should be sufficient to serve as an historical introduction to the biographies of individual patriots which follow. It will show that the careers specially commemorated are merely representative in character.

Phineas Lyman

Class of 1738

Born, ——, 1716; Died, September 10, 1774

General in French and Indian Wars

The fame of Phineas Lyman, which once extended to every New England village, is now confined to students of colonial history. His military capacity and his services in protecting the colonies in the middle of the eighteenth century, which helped to insure Anglo-Saxon supremacy in North America, entitle him to our grateful recognition. A full length portrait can hardly be painted with the materials at command, but we can, at least, sketch in bold outlines the life and character of this early patriot.

Born in Durham, Connecticut, and brought up to the trade of a weaver, he was fitted for college by the father of President Stiles (Isaac Stiles, B.A. 1722), who was pastor of the North Haven Church, and had also learned the weaver's trade as a youth. In the absence of specific information regarding his undergraduate career, the following quotations from contemporary Corporation records are inserted as they throw light on the conditions of student life in his time:

Voted, that no student Graduate nor Undergraduate in Yale College shall play at Chards and if any Person brings in a Pack of Chards he shall pay a Fine not exceeding five shillings and if any play at Chards they shall pay a Fine not exceeding three shillings. . . . .

It having been observed, that on Commencement Occasions, there is a great expense in spirituous distilled Liquors in College, which is justly offensive. For the prevention hereof It is agreed & voted by the Trustees, that for the future no Candidate for a Degree, nor any undergraduate Student shall provide or allow any Brandy Rum or other Spirituous distilled Liquors to be drunk in his Chamber during the week of the Commencem^{t}.

Voted, that the Ashes, Wood-pile-Dung & Sweepings of the College be reserved,

to be disposed of, for the sole Use & Benefit of the College, according to the Orders of the Governours thereof, from time to time.[1]

Lyman was intimately connected with Yale for nearly eight successive years, four years as an undergraduate, with a high record as a student, one as Berkeley Scholar, and three as tutor. This latter position he held "with much reputation,"[2] his classmate, Chauncey Whittelsey, being for most of the time his only colleague. It is interesting to think of a Yale Faculty consisting of one permanent officer, the President, and of two temporary officers or tutors, yet such was the condition during much of the time in the College's first half century. Lyman graduated under Rector Williams, whose patriotism was also soon to be shown by his being chosen to command an expedition against Canada. The former always maintained a deep interest in his Alma Mater, making generous subscriptions to meet her needs in such matters as the professorship of Divinity, and the erection of a new president's house. On leaving the tutorship he entered upon the practice of law in Suffield, which was then in Massachusetts, but was restored to Connecticut, largely as a result of his arguments and appeals. He represented the community repeatedly in the Connecticut Assembly and in the Upper House, and had the largest law practice in the Colony.

In 1755, he began his seven years of continuous military service in the French and Indian wars, by his appointment as Major General and Commander-in-chief of the Connecticut forces sent against Crown Point. William Johnson, of New York, was the General in charge of the united colonial troops, but on being wounded, the command devolved upon Lyman, who acted with great bravery, leading his men under heavy fire. Here is an impartial historian's estimate of what he accomplished:

It was Lyman, of Connecticut, who for five long hours carried on the fiercest conflict then on record in colonial history, in which almost the entire French regular

[1] MS. Corporation Records, September 13, 1734, September 14, 1737, and September 12, 1739.

[2] Dwight, *Travels* (Edition of 1823), Vol. I, p. 272.

force was put out of existence. The real victor did not have even the satisfaction of seeing his name misspelled in the "Gazette." Johnson, according to President Dwight, had the ineffable meanness to ignore him altogether in his report, and to accept the honor of knighthood for the victory which Lyman had won. The histories have treated Lyman very much as his superior officer did.[3]

In the Stiles papers in the University Library is General Lyman's original letter to Governor Fitch describing the battle. From it the following is quoted:

> General Johnson was shot thro' the Thigh near the Beginning of the Battle, & retired to his Tent. God continued my Life & Health thro' the whole, altho', in the very hottest Fire, I was obliged to go thro' the whole Party engaged, to charge them to keep the Shot, for fear the Enemy should draw away our Fire, & then rush in upon us. The Bullets whistled very briskly, but I was never toutched, nor any Part of my Cloaths. I believe their never was a heavier nor hotter Fight in this Country.[4]

The victory was considered of such importance in preventing a French invasion, that Johnson was accorded the thanks of Parliament, and a grant of five thousand pounds, in addition to a baronetcy, was conferred upon him. Lyman, who virtually won the battle, and whose bravery was of the highest character, got nothing except a reappointment to lead Connecticut's forces the next two years. The size of the armies he commanded is strikingly large in view of the Commonwealth's population. In the years from 1758 to 1760, when Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Fort Louis at Oswego, and Montreal, were captured or reduced, his forces varied from four to five thousand men. In 1762, he was in command of the entire provincial force engaged in the reduction of Havana, one of the most difficult expeditions undertaken in colonial times. His success, in spite of the great loss of life, still further increased his reputation for daring and military skill.

The survivors of the Havana expedition deputed General Lyman to act for them in securing the prize money due from the British Government. He was also the leader in a movement to obtain

[3] Johnston, *History of Connecticut*, p. 260.
[4] Stiles Papers, Folio Letters, Vol. I, p. 303.

from the same source a large tract in Mississippi for the veterans of the French War. He spent almost ten years in England trying to effect these results. In the first he was unsuccessful, but he succeeded in obtaining a grant of land twenty miles square, and the company of "Military Adventurers" under his lead started south, and finally settled near Natchez. There he died soon after his arrival.

The elder President Dwight, a careful student of our early history, believed that he was eminent as a soldier, and that he was mainly responsible for the success of the colonial forces at the Battle of Lake George.[5] He sums up his impression of his career by saying, "Few Americans have a better claim to the remembrance of posterity."[6] There is no memorial to him at the University. His son (B.A. 1763) showed in his youth something of the father's dauntless spirit. He led a famous college "rebellion," when, refusing to comply with certain orders of the tutors, he put on his hat and walked out of the Hall, shouting, "Follow on, my brave boys!"[7]

The autograph is a brief business note written by Lyman to Thomas Seymour (B.A. 1755), Lieutenant Colonel of the first Connecticut cavalry regiment in the Revolution, and first Mayor of Hartford. No portrait of Lyman is known, so in the Memorial Hall collection the place of the usual engraving is taken by the reproduction of an old print showing the most important engagement in which he took part and the fort named in his honor.

[5] Dwight, *Travels* (Edition of 1823), Vol. III, pp. 349-352.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 271.
[7] See under Manasseh Cutler.

David Wooster

Class of 1738

Born, March 2, 1711; Died, May 2, 1777

General in the Revolutionary Army

No American military officer more truly deserves the designation of "patriot" than Brigadier General Wooster. He played a distinguished part in three wars, and was killed in action while engaged in rallying his undisciplined troops in resisting the British raid near Danbury.

He was born in what is now Huntington, Connecticut, and was the youngest of the seven children of Abraham Wooster, a mason, of Derby. The necessity of aiding to secure means for his own education was apparently the reason which kept him from entering Yale until after reaching his twenty-third year. Unfortunately, we know nothing of his personal experiences in college. It is interesting as showing the democratic character of the Yale constituency of his time, that, in spite of his father being an artisan, the son's social rank in the Triennial Catalogue is given as in the first half of the class.[1] He found a kindred military spirit in his classmate, Phineas Lyman (q.v.), probably the most distinguished of the New England soldiers who took part in the French and Indian wars.[2] He always retained an interest in the College, contributing in his later years to her needs.

His military career began soon after graduation, for in 1741 he was appointed Lieutenant, and in the following year Captain of the hundred-ton sloop of war "Defense," built by the Colonial Assembly to guard the coast in the war between England and Spain. His next field for military service was in the expedition against Cape Breton, when, as senior Captain of the Connecticut troops, he gained great reputation for his part in the capture of Louisburg. His

1 Seventh in class of fifteen.

2 General Israel Putnam is better known because of his deeds of personal daring, but Lyman was his superior officer and showed at least equally great military capacity.

bravery was rewarded by his being detailed to go to France to arrange for the exchange of prisoners. He returned home by way of England, where he found his pictures hanging in the coffee houses, and where he was treated as one of the heroes of the day. He was presented at court, fêted, and given a Captain's commission in the regular army.[3]

From the peace of 1748 until the renewal of hostilities, seven years later—when he again took the field for long service in the campaign against Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and other northern strongholds—and again from 1760 to 1775, he made New Haven his home. He was a successful merchant, and for a part of the time was also His Majesty's naval officer for the port. He lived in a house on Wooster Street, near St. Paul's Church, in what was then a desirable quarter. Here, with his charming wife, a daughter of President Clap of Yale, he dispensed lavish hospitality. Their home was the resort of learning, talent, and refinement, and Wooster was looking forward to a peaceful old age in these comfortable and attractive surroundings. But when the Revolution opened and a third chance came to draw his sword in behalf of liberty, the patriotic impulse could not be resisted—"and fearless Wooster aids the sacred cause."[4] He was sixty-four years of age, yet in the full vigor of mind and body. "His personal appearance," according to the chaplain[5] of his regiment, "was good, grand, and soldier-like. He was active and cheerful, and retained his activity, cheerfulness and powers remarkably till he fell in the cause of his country."[6] He entered the state militia as Major General, but his reputation soon secured for him a Brigadier Generalship in the Continental Army, he being the seventh officer in rank after Washington.[7] He served first in the neighborhood of New York, then joined the Northern Army, being

[3] Deming, *Oration upon the Life and Services of General David Wooster*, p. 17.
[4] Barlow, *Vision of Columbus*, Book V, p. 169.
[5] Rev. Benjamin Trumbull (B.A. 1759).
[6] Quoted in Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 184.
[7] See John Hancock's letter of June 22, 1775, reproduced in facsimile in Woodrow Wilson, *History of the American People*, Vol. II, p. 236.

for some time in charge of the American troops in Canada. Here his conduct was criticised by General Schuyler and by some politicians, although Congress adopted the report of its committee "that nothing censurable or blameworthy appears against Brigadier-General Wooster."[8] John Adams, in his *Autobiography,* seems to have stated the facts:

> In Wooster's case there was a manifest endeavor to lay upon him the blame of their own misconduct in Congress in embarrassing and starving the war in Canada. Wooster was calumniated for incapacity, want of application, and even for cowardice, without a color of proof of either. The charge of cowardice he soon refuted by a glorious and voluntary sacrifice of his life, which compelled his enemies to confess he was a hero.[9]

His death occurred while he was attempting to check General Tryon's retreat, after the latter's raid upon the supplies in Danbury. Wooster had made a successful attack upon the rear of the enemy's column near Ridgefield, capturing forty prisoners, and was in the midst of a second assault when the Connecticut troops broke. He bravely tried to rally them, shouting, it is said, "Come on, my boys! Never mind such random shots!"[10] when a musket ball inflicted a wound from which he died a few days later. He gave his life in his country's behalf, as at the outset of the war he declared he was willing to do. Here is a quotation from a letter to Roger Sherman, written in reply to one expressing regret that he had not been appointed a Major General:

> No man feels more sensibly for his distressed country, nor would more readily exert his utmost effort for its defense than myself. My life has been ever devoted to her service, from my youth up, though never before in a cause like this, a cause for which I would most cheerfully risk, nay, lay down my life.[11]

Congress showed its appreciation of his services by adopting the following resolutions, June 17, 1777:

> *Resolved,* That a monument be erected to the memory of Gen. Wooster, with the following inscription: "In honor of David Wooster, brigadier-general in the

[8] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. I, p. 618.
[9] Quoted by Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution,* p. 185.
[10] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. VI, p. 611.
[11] Deming, *Oration,* p. 35. Quoted from *American Historical Magazine.* The letter was dated July 17, 1775.

army of the United States. In defending the liberties of America, and bravely repelling an inroad of the British forces to Danbury, in Connecticut, he received a mortal wound on the 27th day of April, 1777, and died on the 2d day of May following. The Congress of the United States, as an acknowledgment of his merit and services, have caused this monument to be erected."[12]

For some unexplained reason the plan was never executed, and it was not until 1854 that a monument was erected at Danbury, and then the expense was met by private subscription.

The University is the owner of important Wooster memorabilia which are preserved in the Library. Some of them were presented, in 1837, by his grandson, Admiral Charles Wooster, who wrote this letter to President Day:

As I shall soon leave this my native place, and there is much uncertainty as to my ever returning to it again, I beg you to receive in behalf of the College, these three relics of my much respected grandfather, whose memory, I believe, is still cherished by every American patriot. His portrait, I found by mere chance, in the city of Santa Yago, the capital of Chili, in the year 1822. The sword is the same which he had drawn at the time when he fell in repelling the inroads of the enemy of our country; and the sash is that on which he was carried from the field, after receiving the wound which caused his death.[13]

The city of New Haven has kept green his memory through Wooster Street and Wooster Square, while the Connecticut Free Masons, of which he established the first Lodge, in 1750, pay special honor to his name. President Dwight, who knew him well, bore this testimony to his character:

General Wooster was a brave, generous minded man; respectable, for his understanding, and for his conduct, both in public and private life; ardent in his friendships, and his patriotism; diffusive in his charities, and stedfast in his principles. He was long a professor of religion, and adorned the profession by an irreproachable and exemplary life.[14]

This reference to his religion recalls the well-known incident of his leading his regiment in prayer in the old meetinghouse on the New Haven Green, just prior to his departure for the front in 1775.[15]

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 57.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[14] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. I, p. 619.
[15] Atwater, *History of the City of New Haven*, p. 46.

An eyewitness of this event has recorded the following description of it:

The last time that I saw Col. Wooster, was in the spring or summer of the year 1775. He was at the head of his regiment, (or a part of it,) with their arms glistening, and their knapsacks on their backs, ready for a march, embodied on the Green, in front of where the Center Church in this city now stands. Before marching, Col. Wooster despatched a messenger for his minister, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, with a request that he would meet him and his regiment at White Haven meeting-house, and pray with them before they marched. He then conducted his men, in military order, into the meeting-house, and seated himself in his own pew, awaiting the return of the messenger,—who on returning, informed the Colonel in a low voice, that the clergyman was absent. Col. Wooster immediately stepped into the Deacon's seat, in front of the pulpit,—called his men to order to attend prayers,—and then offered up a humble prayer for his beloved country, for himself, and the men under his immediate command, and for the success of the cause in which they were engaged. His prayers were offered with the fervent zeal of an apostle, and in such pathetic language, that it drew tears from many an eye, and affected many a heart. After prayers, he and his men left the house in the same order that they entered it, and immediately marched out of town, by the road leading towards New York.[16]

No adequate biography of General Wooster has been published. The address delivered at the unveiling of the Danbury monument by Henry Champion Deming (B.A. 1836), a distinguished officer in the Union Army, is the most important estimate of his career. It is entitled *An Oration upon The Life and Services of Gen. David Wooster.* This and the military record contained in Johnston's *Yale in the American Revolution* have supplied most of the material for this sketch of one of the bravest and most loyal of the University's graduates. His dignified grave in the Grove Street Cemetery should help Yale men to remember his patriotism. It used to be more of a place of pilgrimage than it is today. An undergraduate in the *Literary Cabinet*—the first regular Yale student publication (1806)—has an "Elegy Written in the New Burying-Yard." It especially extols the memory of Stiles and of Wooster:

Wooster, a name to patriotism dear,
Wooster the liberal, good, lies buried here!

[16] *The American Historical Magazine,* Vol. I, No. 2, February, 1836, pp. 58, 59.

Oyster Pond, 27th Augt 1775

Sr

I expected to have returnd by the way of New Haven before now but having received advice of another Fleet of the Ministerial Transports sailing from Boston, we exspect them here by the latter end of this week and as we are much put to it for Provisions, I desire you woud immediately send for Capt. Sillick and dispach him here with twenty barrels Pork, thirty barrels Flour, six Do Peas and three Do Rice, and order him to well equiped with carrage & swival guns and also with light Sails as I want his assistance to take the Small Tenders as they come around the Shores and Islands to look for Plunder, and you may inform him that he will be well man[ned] as I have sent orders to Capt Lieut. Willmot to Collect the Soldiers belonging to my Regiment that are on the main to join the Regt here immediately, you must inform Capt. Sillick that the King Fisher man of War is up Sound and he must take care not to fall into their hands I desire you would make all possible dispach and in the mean time I am Sr

yr most Humbl, Servt

David Wooster

To Jonn. Fitch Esqr.

This fine war letter is addressed to Jonathan Fitch (B.A. 1748), at New Haven. During the early years of the Revolution he combined the duties of Steward of the College Commons and State Commissary—an interesting prophecy of the modern emphasis on coöperation between the University and the civic authorities. Four months before its writing, Wooster had been appointed Major General of six Connecticut militia regiments to be raised immediately for "the safety and defense of the colony."[17] He appears to have been actively engaged in this undertaking when he wrote this letter from Oyster Pond, now the village of Orient, in Southold, Long Island, where Wooster was apparently engaged in trying to collect stock.[18] The regiment which he commanded as Colonel was the First. It had proceeded in June to the defense of New York City, and on its arrival the "Old General" and his officers were given an ovation by the citizens.

[17] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 185.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

David Humphreys

Class of 1771

Born, July 10, 1752; Died, February 21, 1818

Washington's Aide, Diplomat, and Man of Letters

Humphreys was a man of the world in the best sense of the words. He was known for his broad culture, and his services entitle him to recognition in this volume under Statesmen and Authors, as well as under Patriots. But it is clearly under the last grouping that his name will be longest remembered in our history. Even his work as an author draws its inspiration largely from the Revolutionary struggle, and is mainly concerned with aiding the cause of American liberty.

He was born in what is now Ansonia, Connecticut, and came of excellent colonial stock. His father was for upwards of half a century the pastor at Derby, and, being a Yale graduate (B.A. 1732), prepared his son for the entrance examinations. The latter's high standing as a student is shown by the fact that he was called to the tutorship, which he declined. Two of his college friendships were to have an abiding influence on his career—those with Timothy Dwight (q.v.), who was two years his senior, and with John Trumbull (q.v.), who graduated the year he entered, but remained in New Haven for three years of graduate study. With Joel Barlow (q.v.) as a fourth, they were to constitute a conspicuous Yale literary group, whose members consecrated their talents to the patriotic cause. Their names were brought together with affection by Humphreys a few years later:

> Why sleep'st thou, Barlow, child of genius! why
> See'st thou, blest Dwight, our land in sadness lie?
> And where is Trumbull, earliest boast of fame?
> 'Tis yours, ye bards, to wake the smother'd flame—

> To you, my dearest friends! the task belongs
> To rouse your country with heroic songs.[1]

Humphreys' career as an undergraduate was well known to many generations of Yale students, for he was believed to have been the founder of Brothers in Unity. Oliver Stanley (B.A. 1768) seems to have really been entitled to this honor,[2] but Humphreys was prominent in the movement, and his marked personality and later fame led to his being considered the society's hero. His picture was given the place of honor in its rooms in the top of Alumni Hall. Brothers soon became Linonia's great rival, and legends of its origin grew apace. There seems to be some truth in the story that Humphreys, while still a Freshman, urged its foundation as a rebuke to the older Linonia, which had been slow to recognize the rights of first-year men.[3]

An evidence of the increased interest in culture which begins to be noticeable in the College at this period, and which Humphreys aided Timothy Dwight (q.v.) and Joseph Buckminster (B.A. 1770) to develop, is the fact that on receiving his Master of Arts degree, in 1774, he delivered an oration on Taste. At the same time he is down on the "Quæstiones" as supporting the affirmative of the subject, *An præficere Alienigenas Reipublicæ, ad diruendam illius Constitutionem maximo tendat.* This title serves to remind us that one of his Latin compositions as a student is preserved in the University Library.

He taught for three years after graduation, first at the Wethers-

1 *The Poetical Works of John Trumbull,* Vol. II, p. 234.

2 *Catalogue of the Society of Brothers in Unity,* 1854, p. 3.

3 It is quite possible that Yale owes her college color, at least in part, to the Brothers Society. Yale blue does not seem to have come into anything like general use until the sixties of the nineteenth century. The following quotation from the address (p. 84) given by Charles Tracy (B.A. 1832), at the centennial of the Linonia Society is interesting: "The prevailing color, pink, has been of old the badge of our Society; and, most fortunately for this occasion, it is the color of joy and exultation the world over. Well may it show now in gay rosettes and festoons, for this is our day, our grand gala of a century. But other tints are not forgotten. Before us, on the chief shield of honor, is the green of the college. Old Yale forever! *Ever green may she be!* Another shield bears the blue of 'The Brothers in Unity'—*Always true blue!* Yonder shield bears the golden yellow of the former Calliopean Society—*Always pure gold:* a color too, which was prophetic of the glorious sunset lights of her noble going down."

field High School, and later at the famous "Philipse Manor" in Westchester County, New York, but he seems to have returned frequently to New Haven. The call to arms was becoming so imperious that, declining a tutorship, he became a soldier. He wrote a sonnet "addressed to his friends at Yale College, on leaving them to join the army":

> Adieu, thou Yale! where youthful poets dwell;
> No more I linger by thy classic stream.
> Inglorious ease and sportive songs, farewell!
> Thou startling clarion! break the sleeper's dream![4]

He first heard the "startling clarion" in earnest in the siege of New York, in the summer of 1776. Seventy[5] Yale graduates were in the army in and about the city during this half year preceding the battle of Princeton. They ranked all the way from David Wooster (q.v.), a Major General, to Joel Barlow (q.v.) and David Bushnell (q.v.), who were volunteers. Humphreys was an Adjutant, and his Connecticut regiment was one of the last to leave the city on the unfortunate fifteenth of September. During the following spring he was appointed Brigade Major to General Parsons, and met General Washington, with whom he was to become so intimate. He was honored by being selected to inform the Commander-in-chief of the brilliant success of the expedition which crossed the Sound from Guilford in whale boats, took ninety prisoners, burned twelve supply ships of the enemy, and returned without losing one of its one hundred and seventy men.[6] This exploit gave him the necessary experience for two similar expeditions—one the following year when he led thirty volunteers in a successful attack on some more of the enemy's Long Island shipping, and the second, on Christmas Day, 1780, when he made a daring attempt to capture Sir Henry Clinton. In December, 1778, he was appointed an aide to General Putnam, a position that

[4] Quoted from *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans,* Vol. II, p. 2.
[5] See list in Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution,* pp. 38, 39.
[6] *Ibid.,* p. 271.

he held, except for a few months of similar service with General Greene, until the summer of 1780. Then he joined Washington, and remained his aide until the war's close.[7] It is interesting to know that this important position had first been offered to another Yale graduate, Colonel William Hull (q.v.). He declined it, suggesting Humphreys as his substitute.

It was of the events leading up to this appointment, and of its important consequences in his life, that Humphreys refers in his poem *On the Happiness of America:*

> I, too, perhaps, should Heaven prolong my date,
> The oft-repeated tale shall oft relate;
> Shall tell the feelings in the first alarms,
> Of some bold enterprise the unequalled charms;
> Shall tell from whom I learnt the martial art,
> With what high chief I play'd my early part:
> With Parsons first, whose eye, with piercing ken,
> Reads through their hearts the characters of men;
> Then how I aided, in the following scene,
> Death-daring Putnam, then immortal Greene;
> Then how great Washington my youth approv'd,
> In rank preferred, and as a parent lov'd,
> (for each fine feeling in his bosom blends
> The first of heroes, sages, patriots, friends,)
> With him what hours on war-like plans I spent,
> Beneath the shadow of th' imperial tent;
> With him how oft I went the nightly round,
> Through moving hosts, or slept on tented ground;
> From him, how oft, (nor far below the first
> In high behests and confidential trust,)
> From him how oft I bore the dread commands,
> Which destined for the fight the eager bands:
> With him how oft I passed th' eventful day,
> Rode by his side, as down the long array
> His awful voice the columns taught to form,
> To point the thunder, and to pour the storm.
> But thanks to heaven! those days of blood are o'er.[8]

[7] Washington wrote to President Stiles, in 1782, of his interest in education "and especially of the pleasure I feel in the increasing reputation and ability of the Seat of Learning under your immediate direction." *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[8] Humphreys, *Happiness of America,* p. 17.

There is no doubt that he held a confidential and important position in Washington's intimate military family. Many of the General's orders are still extant in his aide's fine, flowing hand. He showed the young officer distinguished honors. He appointed him to convey to Congress the British flags captured at Yorktown,[9] on which occasion he was presented with a commemorative sword—a scene made familiar to Yale students by the painting in the School of the Fine Arts. Humphreys is also one of the six officers with the Commander-in-chief in Trumbull's painting in the same gallery of Washington's resignation of his command, and he was urged by the latter to write the history of the war:

> Your abilties as a writer, your discernment respecting the principles which led to the decision by arms, your personal knowledge of many facts as they occurred in the progress of the war, your disposition to justice, candor & impartiality, and your diligence in investigating truth—combining—fit you in the vigor of life for this task. And I shall with great pleasure not only give you the perusal of all my papers, but any oral information of circumstances which cannot be obtained from the latter that my memory will furnish.[10]

After the Revolution, Washington invited him to make Mt. Vernon his home, and when he became President, appointed him Minister to Portugal, and later to Spain—posts for which he was well fitted by his experience as Secretary of the Commission for negotiating Treaties of Commerce with foreign powers, named by the Congress of the Confederation. In view of these many evidences of peculiar friendship and honor, it is pleasant to know that Washington's diploma of Doctor of Laws from Yale University, conferred in 1781, was conveyed to him by Colonel Humphreys.[11] The Yale Corporation also considered the latter its special representative abroad, for he was "requested and empowered to address himself in our Names, and to ask Donations of the Maecenates [sic] of Literature, and any Persons of Liberality and

[9] Yorktown was celebrated at Yale by an oration by Tutor Meigs, and by the singing of "a Triumphant hymn" by the students.

[10] See the letter in Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 154.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Munificence. . . . ."[12] But there is no evidence that his mission for his Alma Mater was specially successful.

Stress has been laid on his military career and on his intimate relationship to the Commander-in-chief, for it is upon the combination of these facts that his reputation as a patriot rests. This was confirmed by his action at the time of Shays' Rebellion, and during the War of 1812, when he was Brigadier General of the state militia. But Humphreys has other claims to fame. He was for over ten years a successful diplomat in Europe, and later served in the state legislature. He introduced merino sheep into America, was an early and successful manufacturer of woolen and cotton cloth, and an intelligent advocate of scientific agriculture. He was one of five graduates to be elected members of the Royal Society in London, was the biographer of General Putnam, a patron of letters, and a man of cosmopolitan culture, while his poems and miscellaneous writings give him a place in our early literary history. They are almost entirely on patriotic subjects, and are mainly valuable for their references to contemporary men and events. Perhaps the best known is *A Poem, Addressed to the Armies of the United States of America.* This was first published in New Haven, in 1780, and was followed by editions printed in London and Paris, one of the latter including a French translation in prose.

General Humphreys was a man of commanding appearance and of impressive courtliness of manner. He was somewhat vain and given to display, but his integrity, culture, ability, and patriotism were everywhere recognized. The University owns a fine portrait of him, by Gilbert Stuart, as well as a bust. The "General Humphreys Branch of the Sons of the American Revolution," his dignified monument in the Grove Street Cemetery, and Humphreys Street also help to keep his name and record before the community.

His military career is best treated in Johnston's *Yale in the*

[12] Yale Corporation Papers. Large folio Scrap Book, Library.

American Revolution. Accounts of his life appear in the standard encyclopædias, and a biography is in course of preparation by his great-grandson. This sketch may be fittingly closed by a contemporary tribute from a fellow Yalensian, Joel Barlow, who admired his friend both as a soldier and as a man of letters:

> While freedom's cause his patriot bosom warms,
> In counsel sage, nor inexpert in arms,
> See Humphreys glorious from the field retire,
> Sheathe the glad sword and string the sounding lyre,
> That lyre which, erst, in hours of dark despair,
> Roused the sad realms to urge the unfinish'd war.
> O'er fallen friends, with all the strength of woe,
> His heart-felt sighs in moving numbers flow;
> His country's wrongs, her duties, dangers, praise,
> Fire his full soul and animate his lays;
> Immortal Washington with joy shall own
> So fond a favourite and so great a son.[13]

Head Quarters Ver Planks Point
Sept^{r}. 24th 1782

You will recollect, my dear Sir, when I had the honor of corresponding & conversing with you, more than two years ago, sometimes on literary Subjects, that I mentioned to you a great Poetical Work which was just then commenced by Mr. Barlow a Chaplain in the Army—that Poem by the immense labour and efforts of the Author is now nearly compleated, & will be ready for publication in the course of the Winter or Spring, if sufficient encouragement in the meantime is given for the purpose.

That you may be enabled to judge fully of the Plan, & in some degree of the Execution, I have taken the liberty to forward the enclosed for your perusal, and in case it should meet with your approbation (as I doubt not it will) to solicit in the most earnest manner your patronage & protection of the Work—Permit me to add, I should not have ventured to take so great liberties, had I not considered you as a Maecenas & Friend of Literature, and at the same time been apprehensive that the Book could not be brought forward to advantage, if at all, unless a good number of Subscriptions can be obtained in the Southern States—Altho I am sensible you will not have leisure to attend to this matter yourself, yet I have enclosed a Copy of the Proposals, in hopes that a number of Gentlemen under your auspices will undertake the Task

[13] Barlow, *Vision of Columbus,* Book VII, p. 212.

of obtaining Subscriptions. if 1500 or even 1000 can be obtained to the Southward of Pensylvania, I think the Poem will certainly be printed, otherwise it is a matter of great doubt whether it can be effected.

Our friend Trumbull has augmented his McFingal to four Cantos, and published a New Edition—It is an admirable performance—I cannot get a Copy at this moment or I would have sent it for your Amusement.

Inspired by all the ties of gratitude and friendship, I beg you will be persuaded, I have never forgotten you, but watched your various fortunes, thro' the extremities of distress, as well as the career of conquest & glory, with the most sympathetic feelings—It is a mortifying circumstance to me, that among millions who are captivated with the lustre of your atchievments & military glory, that I who am better acquainted with your public & private Virtues cannot find stronger terms of congratulation & affection than the herd of your admirers—Whether I have words or not to express the ardour & Sincerity of my affection, I request you will believe that I am entirely

My Dear Sir
Your friend & most
devoted Hble Servant
D Humphreys

The Hon^ble Maj. Gen Greene.

This letter is of unusual interest in connection with the study of Yale's contribution to literature. It brings together the names of three of the "Hartford" or "Connecticut Wits"—who are recognized as forming the first important literary group in America. They were John Trumbull, David Humphreys, and Joel Barlow—all ardent Yale patriots who had also done much in successive college generations to encourage a more literary atmosphere among undergraduates.

The "great Poetical Work" of Barlow to which Humphreys refers is *The Vision of Columbus.* The beginnings of this are seen in *A Poem, Spoken at the Public Commencement at Yale College, in New-Haven, September 12, 1781.* It was not until 1787 that the finished work appeared. Then it passed through so many editions, and was so highly praised by men of letters, that the author determined to expand further the theme—Columbus' vision of the future glories of America—which finally appeared twenty years later as *The Columbiad.* The list of subscribers appended to the first edition

of the "Vision," headed by Louis XVI, who took twenty-five copies, shows that Humphreys' request to General Greene met with little success, as the subscribers are mainly from New England and New York.

Trumbull's *McFingal: a Modern Epic Poem, in Four Cantos,* was published at Hartford, in 1782. The first canto—"The Town-Meeting"—appeared in 1775. It was printed at the request of friends in Congress "to inspire confidence in the cause of American liberty, and to prepare the public mind for the Declaration of Independence."[14] When the great issue of the war was settled the poem was completed.

Humphreys' literary friendship for Trumbull and Barlow, as well as for Dwight, is celebrated in some amusing doggerel verse written to a young lady in Boston, about his winter journey to New Haven, in 1780:

> Some days elaps'd, I jogg'd quite brave on
> And found my Trumbull at New Haven;
> Than whom, more humour never man did
> Possess—nor lives a soul more candid—
> But who, unsung, would know hereafter,
> The repartees and peals of laughter,
> Or how much glee those laughters yield one,
> Maugre the system Chesterfieldian!
> Barlow I saw, and here began
> My friendship for that spotless man;
> Whom, though the world does *not yet* know it,
> Great nature form'd her loftiest poet.
> But Dwight was absent at North-Hampton,
> That bard sublime, and virtue's champion.
> To whom the charms of verse belong,
> The father of our epic song.[15]

When Humphreys wrote the above letter he was still serving as Washington's aide-de-camp, a position similar to the one he had held with General Greene prior to June, 1780.

[14] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. III, p. 255.
[15] Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature,* Vol. I, p. 374.

Nathan Hale

Class of 1773

Born, June 6, 1755; Died, September 22, 1776

Patriot Spy of the Revolution

Nathan Hale is *the* hero of the Campus. No graduate so symbolizes to the undergraduate of today the highest manifestation of the Yale spirit as this able student and manly youth who gladly gave up his life in his country's service.

He was one of a family of twelve children, brought up on the farm of his father, Deacon Richard Hale, at South Coventry, Connecticut. If he could have carried out Doctor Holmes' advice to choose his ancestors, he could not have done better, for Hales and Strongs were of the sturdiest New England stock. Although delicate as a child, he grew to be a strong and vigorous lad, famed in the neighborhood for his physique and his skill at sports. The home, the school, and the church, were, as they should always be, the three main centers of early influence. It was the "Age of Homespun" described by Bushnell. Life was simple, but it was fed from deep springs. The minister of the village church was a Yale graduate, Rev. Joseph Huntington (B.A. 1762), and it was under him that Hale prepared for college. It is probable that his influence over the young student was broader and deeper than has been realized, for he was a man of unusual culture and ability. His theological views were so liberal for a minister of the orthodox church in his day that the greater part of the edition of his *Calvinism Improved* was destroyed by a member of the family, that it might not cause offense. Many of the masters of literature, such as Milton, Shakespeare, Cicero, and Virgil, were his companions, and his conversation was interesting and witty. He was a patriot, a strong preacher, much interested in education, something of a mathematician, and so talented in the classics that he had been awarded a Berkeley Scholarship at

graduation. Such was the man[1] whose preaching and teaching impressed young Hale during the six years prior to his entering college. We are not surprised that he wrote a few months before his death, "I always with respect remember Mr. Huntington."[2]

Nathan entered college in the autumn of 1769, with his older brother Enoch, who later became one of the most respected Congregational ministers in Massachusetts, and the ancestor of Edward Everett Hale. They lived together simply in Connecticut Hall, enjoying to the full the Campus life of the time, studying[3] hard, and devoting themselves without complaint to their other college duties, which included attendance at Chapel at half past four in summer and half past five in winter! Fortunately we have several accounts of Hale, written by those who knew him as an undergraduate. The first is by Timothy Dwight (q.v.), who was a tutor during Hale's Junior and Senior years. Here is his tribute, published in 1785:

> Thus, while fond virtue wished in vain to save,
> Hale, bright and generous, found a hapless grave.
> With genius' living flame his bosom glowed,
> And Science lured him to her sweet abode;
> In Worth's fair path his feet adventured far,
> The pride of Peace, the rising hope of War;
> In duty firm, in danger calm as even—
> To friends unchanging, and sincere to Heaven.
> How short his course, the prize how early won,
> While weeping Friendship mourns her favorite gone.[4]

The second is from Dr. Eneas Munson (B.A. 1753), an eminent physician, and a friend during his New Haven days and in later life:

> He was almost six feet in height, perfectly proportioned, and in figure and deportment he was the most manly man I have ever met. His chest was broad;

[1] See biographical sketch and bibliography of Huntington in Dexter, *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. II, pp. 750-755.

[2] Letter to his brother Enoch, Johnston, *Nathan Hale*, p. 144.

[3] A friend wrote to Hale after his graduation: "At Yale your Character was certainly that of a scholar and not of a Buck." *American Historical Review*, Vol. VII, p. 776.

[4] Dwight, *Conquest of Canaan*, quoted from Johnston, *Nathan Hale*, p. 130. In Johnston, *Nathan Hale*, Dwight's letter to Hale in camp asking him to be one of the subscribers to the *Conquest of Canaan* is given. In it he refers to his young friend's "politeness and benevolence," and adds these suggestive words: "To a person of Mr. Hale's character (motive of friendship apart) fondness for liberal arts would be a sufficient apology for this application."

his muscles were firm; his face wore a most benign expression, his complexion was roseate, his eyes were light blue, and beamed with intelligence; his hair was soft and light-brown in color, and his speech was rather low, sweet, and musical. His personal beauty and grace of manner were most charming. Why, all the girls in New Haven fell in love with him, and wept tears of real sorrow when they heard of his sad fate. In dress he was always neat; he was quick to lend a helping hand to a being in distress, brute or human; was overflowing with good humor, and was the idol of all his acquaintances.[5]

The third account, written by a companion of his undergraduate years, probably gives the best contemporary description, even when due allowance is made for its elegiac form:

Erect and tall, his well-proportioned frame,
Vig'rous and active, as electric flame;
His manly limbs had symmetry and grace,
And innate goodness marked his beauteous face;
His fancy lively, and his genius great,
His solid judgment shone in grave debate;
For erudition far beyond his years;
At Yale distinguish'd above all his peers,—
Speak, ye who knew him while a pupil there,
His numerous virtues to the world declare,
His blameless carriage, and his modest air;
Above the vain parade and idle show,
Which mark the coxcomb and the empty beau,
Removed from envy, malice, pride and strife,
He walked through goodness as he walked through life;
A kinder brother nature never knew,
A child more duteous or a friend more true.

. . . . . .

In earth's full bloom, fell this lamented friend;
But life is long, that answers life's great end,—
That leaves embalm'd a pure, unsullied name,
And adds a worthy to the rolls of Fame.
Ye sons of Science and of Virtue, mourn,
With copious tears bedew his silent urn;
And thou, fair Yale, the Muses' blissful seat,
Nurse of the learn'd, the virtuous, and the great,—
Thy mournful notes, let Melpomene swell,
And solemn dirges ring his funeral knell.[6]

[5] Appleton, *American Biography*, Vol. III, p. 30.
[6] *American Historical Magazine*, February, 1836, pp. 61-64.

These references to the character and charm of "Hale secundus" are borne out by all that we know of his college course.

He was admitted into the "Fellowship Club"—later called Linonia—November 7, 1770. It was the third meeting after the library of the society, now an asset of such importance to the University, was started. The minutes for July 16, 1770, state that "in order to accomodate the Members of this Society with a Library, a number of useful Books were Collected. . . . ." Hale united with five classmates in presenting eight volumes of the *Spectator*. Each subscribed five shillings. He also presented *The Travels of Cyrus,* and contributed to the purchase of *The Elements of Criticism*. He is recorded as present at the meeting when the important vote was passed "that if ever, this honorable fellowship Club should be desolved and intirely dispersed; the Books which are, or shall be given, to said Library; shall be given to the Library of Yale College."[7] The meetings were frequently held in his room, and the minutes from January 2 to November 20, 1771, are in his handwriting. There are several references to his making addresses. Once "the Meeting was opened with a very entertaining Narration by Hale 2^{d}." The following week he delivered "a very agreeable and entertaining extemporary Dispute,"[8] and again the week after, he was responsible for another "very entertaining Narration." Not only did he take part in one of the plays of the society—the "Toy Shop"—but at his Senior anniversary the records state that "An Epilogue made expressly on the occasion & delivered by Hale 2^{d} was receiv'd with approbation."[9] That his interest in the society was marked is beyond dispute. It is shown by the frequent references to him in the minutes, and by his being chosen Chancellor. Extracts from his address on behalf of the incoming Seniors have been often quoted. It is so fine that it is here given in full from the original in the Yale Library:

[7] MS. Linonia Records, April 15, 1772.
[8] *Ibid.,* December 23 and 30, 1772.
[9] *Ibid.,* April 13, 1773.

Kind Sirs,

Sorrow which hath for a long time spared to molest this peaceful society with its disagreeable presence, has we see at length approach'd it and bedim'd your countenances, with an unusual kind of sadness. Sorrow is indeed unpleasing; yet, when the cause of it is so just as at present, how shall we attempt to restrain it? That the Gentlemen who have now taken their leave of us were very much beloved by us, our inward emotions, as well as countenances, do very strongly testify. They have been rendered dear to us, not only by a long and intimate acquaintance, but by the strictest bonds of unity and friendship. How shall we ever forget the many agreeable evenings we have spent in their company? or by what new revolutions, do we hope to arrive to that happy period, when contented with our happiness, we shall wish no more the return of such delightful scenes? The high opinion we ought to maintain of the abilities of these worthy Gentlemen, as well as the regard they express for Linonia & her Sons, tends very much to increase our desire for their longer continuence. Under whatsoever character we consider them, we have the greatest reason, to regret their departure. As our patrons we have shared their utmost care & vigilence in supporting Linonia's cause, & protecting her from the malice of her insulting foes. As our benefactors we have pertaken of their liberality, not only in their rich & valuable & donations to our library, but, what is still more, their amiable company of conversation. But as our friends, what inexpressible happiness have we experienced in their disintered love & cordial affection? We have lived together, not as fellow-students, and members of the same college but as brothers & children of the same family; not as superiors & inferiors, but rather as equals & companions. The only thing which hath them the pre-eminence, their superior knowledge in those arts & sciences, which are here cultivated, & their greater skill & prudence in the management of such important affairs as these which concern the good order & regularity of this society. Under the prudent conduct of these our once worthy patrons, but now parting friends, things have been so wisely regulated as that while we have been entertained with all the pleasures of familiar conversation, we have been we have been no less profited by our improvements in useful knowledge & literature. But why should I expatiate upon past pleasures & enjoyments? We are all sensible, alas! too sensible of [this]. So greatly are our minds impressed, with the remembrance of them that the thought of their now ending, is almost insupportable. But, why have our friends been so unkind, as to add to our sorrow, by representing to our minds, in the most affecting light, our former intimate friendship, & inflaming in our breasts a still greater desire for their longer continuence? We wish for it, but in vain. This day has brought about the unwelcome period, the melancholy prospect of which has so long sadden'd our Hearts. We must now take leave, a final leave, of our dearest friends. Fain would we avoid undertaking; but it cannot be we are obliged to perform it. Since therefore it must be so, let us submit. Let us if possible for a moment put on cheerful & benevolent countenances, while we shall return return to our parting friends, for

the last time, our sincerest thanks for the numberless kindnesses they have shewn us, since we have the honour of being called Linonia's Sons.

Kind and generous Sirs, It is with the greatest reluctance, we are now all oblig'd to bid a last adieu to you our dearest friends. Fain would we ask you longer to tarry, but it is otherwise determined, and we must comply. Accept then our sincerest thanks, as some poor return for your disinterested zeal in Linonia's cause, & your unwearied pains to suppress her opposers. I understand that at the time, when you were receiv'd by our Ancestors into this society, our best beloved Linonia was brought very low, by the oppressive hand of her numerous opposers. But since the time of your admission she hath been continually encreasing both in dignity & power, arising from step to step, towards her antient Splendor. And hath at length arrived to that flourishing condition in which we now behold her. To you is owing, in a great measure, our present prosperity. (What adequate returns can we make for these signal favours?) But in addition to all the rest you have now given us those instructions, by the observation of which, we may make Linonia still to flourish, & shine forth with superior splendor. Receive kind Sirs as a very poor return our sincere thanks for your numberless kindnesses. Be assur'd that we shall be spirited in Linonia's cause & with steadiness & resolution strive to make her shine with unparalleled lustre. And althoug Plutonia should make use of every sordid & low-liv'd scheme, to raise herself & rival our fame, rely upon it, that we will exert ourselves in the use of all proper means to humble her pride & reduce her to her nothing. And you may firmly believe, we will do our best endeavours to render ourselves worthy our illustrious Ancestors. Be assured Gentlemen, that your memory will always be very dear to us: that althouhg hundreds of miles should interfere, you will always be attended with our best wishes. May providence protect you in all your ways, & may you have prosperity in all your undertakings. May you live long & happily, & at last die satisfied with the pleasures of this world, and go hence to that world where joy shall never cease & pleasures never end.

Dear Gentlemen farewell!

During his college course he had the advantage of the intimate friendship and counsel of his father. Johnston has brought together three of the letters to his son. Here is a characteristic one:

Coventry Dec. 26th
A.D. 1769.

I have nothing special to write but would by all desire you to mind your Studies and carefully attend to the orders of Coledge. Attend not only Prayrs in the chapel but Secret Prayr carefully. Shun all vice especially card Playing. Read your Bibles a chapter night and morning. I cannot now send you much money but hope when Sr Strong comes to Coventry to be able to send by him what you want. . . . .

from your Loving Fath—

Rich[D] Hale

This short note breathes the spirit of old New England days. It gives the Puritan background without which the early heroes of the nation could not have developed.

Hale was a high scholar and was assigned a "forensic debate" at Commencement, when with Benjamin Tallmadge (q.v.) he upheld, against William Robinson and Ezra Sampson, the affirmative of the question, "Whether the Education of Daughters be not without any just reason, more neglected than that of Sons." Of this debate his classmate, James Hillhouse, is quoted as writing "Hale was triumphant. He was the champion of 'the daughters,' and most ably advocated their cause."[10]

And so his college life drew to a close. George Dudley Seymour, to whom Yale men are indebted for doing much to keep before the university community the memory of his hero, has well pictured him as a manly, generous undergraduate, typical of all that is still honored on the Campus.[11] No wonder that Colonel Tallmadge called him his "much loved classmate,"[12] and that General Hull, who was in the class ahead of him in college, could say "There was no young man who gave fairer promise of an enlightened and devoted service to his country than this my friend. . . . ."[13]

On leaving Yale, Hale seems to have intended ultimately to enter the Christian ministry,[14] but he began by teaching school, first at Moodus, a part of East Haddam, Connecticut, and later at New London. It is with the Union Grammar School of the latter place, where he taught for almost a year and a half, that we specially connect him. Here is part of a letter to Dr. Munson telling of his work:

> I am happily situated here. I love my employment; find many friends among strangers; have time for scientific study, and seem to fill the place assigned me with

[10] Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. III, p. 30. For account of the Commencement exercises, consult Johnston, *Nathan Hale,* p. 30.

[11] See *The Familiar Hale,* reprinted, with some additions, from the *Yale Alumni Weekly* of April 3, 1907.

[12] Quoted from Sparks, *Life and Treason of Benedict Arnold,* p. 226, in *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General Hull,* p. 44.

[13] Johnston, *Nathan Hale,* p. 99.

[14] Dexter, *Yale B. and A.,* Vol. III, p. 484.

satisfaction. I have a school of more than thirty boys to instruct, about half of them in Latin; and my salary is satisfactory. During the summer I had a morning class of young ladies—about a score—from five to seven o'clock; so you see my time is pretty fully occupied, profitably I hope to my pupils and to their teacher.[15]

The call of his country to help fight for the sacred cause of freedom came to him with overwhelming force. And so, about six weeks after the Battle of Lexington, he wrote the following simple, manly letter. Its restraint, its complete lack of any element of the mock heroic, its thoughtfulness for engagements made, and its evident patriotism, should make it an inspiration to all, and especially to fellow Yale men. It is addressed, under date of July 7, 1775, to the proprietors of Union School:

Having received information that a place is allotted me in the army, and being inclined, as I hope, for good reasons, to accept it, I am constrained to ask as a favor that which scarce anything else would have induced me to, which is, to be excused from keeping your school any longer. For the purpose of conversing upon this, and of procuring another master, some of your number think it best that there should be a general meeting of the proprietors. The time talked of for holding it is 6 o'clock this afternoon, at the school-house. The year for which I engaged will expire within a fortnight, so that my quitting a few days sooner, I hope, will subject you to no great inconvenience.

School keeping is a business of which I was always fond, but since my residence in this town, everything has conspired to render it more agreeable. I have thought much of never quitting it but with life, but at present there seems an opportunity for more extended public service.

The kindness expressed to me by the people of the place, but especially the proprietors of the school, will always be very gratefully remembered by, gentlemen, with respect, your humble servant,

NATHAN HALE.[16]

From now on events moved rapidly during the remaining year of his short life. He was commissioned First Lieutenant, and recruited the Third Company in the Seventh Continental Regiment, under Colonel Webb. This was his position until January 1, 1776, when the regiment was reorganized as the 19th Foot, in Washington's Continental Army. He was then promoted to a captaincy. The first eight months of his service were around Boston. His diary for

[15] Johnston, *Nathan Hale*, p. 13.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

this period has fortunately been preserved. It is full of unconscious references to his fine spirit and to his devotion. Wrestling, "chequers," and football, were among his diversions, but his main work was improving the efficiency of his men. That their patriotism was not always up to his is shown by this suggestive entry: "Promis'd the men if they would tarry another month they should have my wages for that time."[17] In March, 1776, he marched with the army to New York. He was keen for action, and gladly availed himself of an opportunity to become a Captain in Knowlton's Rangers—about one hundred and fifty in number—who were in the forefront, reconnoitering the enemy as scouts and free lances. It was to Knowlton that Washington communicated his desire for more specific information regarding the British Army then investing the city. Hale was eager to undertake the work. He consulted his college friend and fellow captain, William Hull (q.v.), who has left an account of their meeting:

> After his interview with Colonel Knowlton, he repaired to my quarters and informed me of what had passed. He remarked that he thought he owed to his country the accomplishment of an object so important and so much desired by the commander of her armies, and he knew of no other mode of obtaining the information than by assuming a disguise and passing into the enemy's camp. He asked my candid opinion.

Hull replied that his nature was too frank and open to play well the part proposed, called his attention to the hateful service of a spy, and predicted his death should he undertake the task. Hale answered "with warmth and decision":

> I am fully sensible of the consequences of discovery and capture in such a situation. But for a year I have been attached to the army, and have not rendered any material service while receiving a compensation for which I make no return. Yet I am not influenced by the expectation of promotion or pecuniary reward; I wish to be useful, and every kind of service, necessary to the public good, becomes honorable by being necessary. If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service its claims to perform that service are imperious.[18]

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 180. Diary for November 28, 1775.
[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.

His last words to his college friend were: "I will reflect, and do nothing but what duty demands."

Of his trip to New York by way of Norwalk, Connecticut, and Huntington, Long Island, few facts are known. A fellow soldier has preserved to us this account of his departure:

> Captain Hale had changed his uniform for a plain suit of citizen's brown clothes, with a round, broad brimmed hat; assuming the character of a Dutch schoolmaster, leaving all his other clothes, commission, public and private papers with me, and also his silver shoe buckles, saying they would not comport with his character of schoolmaster, and retaining nothing but his college diploma, as an introduction to his assumed calling.[19]

During his absence from camp the city of New York had been occupied by the British. Hale had evidently secured the information wanted by the Commander-in-chief, and was returning, when "being suspected by his movements that he wanted to get out of New York, was taken up and examined by the general, and, some minutes being found with him, orders were immediately given that he should be hanged."[20] According to the official British entry, dated "Head Q^{rs} New York Island, Sep^{r}. 22^{d}: 1776," "A spy from the Enemy (by his own full confession) apprehended last night, was this day Executed at 11 oClock in front of the Artilery Park. . . . ."[21] Of this execution, which probably took place near the site of Hamilton Park,[22] two facts stand out clearly from trustworthy evidence. The first is that "When at the gallows, he spoke and told that he was a Captain in the Continental army, by name Nathan Hale."[23] So honest a man could disguise nothing. The second is that his last words[24] were:

I ONLY REGRET THAT I HAVE BUT ONE LIFE TO LOSE FOR MY COUNTRY.

At the centennial anniversary of the Linonia Society,[25] in 1853, Judge Francis M. Finch (q.v.), the author of *The Blue and the Gray,* read a poem entitled *Hale's Fate and Fame.* The first and last stanzas follow:

[19] Hempstead's account, *Ibid.,* p. 105. [20] *Ibid.,* p. 114. [21] *Ibid.,* p. 111.
[22] Cf. *American Historical Review,* Vol. VII, pp. 775, 776.
[23] *Johnston,* Nathan Hale, p. 114. [24] *Ibid.,* p. 126.
[25] The society seems to have been founded by William Wickham (B.A. 1753).

To drum-beat and heart-beat
A soldier marches by;
There is color in his cheek,
There is courage in his eye,
Yet to drum-beat and heart-beat
In a moment he must die.

. . . . .

From Fame-leaf and Angel-leaf,
From monument and urn,
The sad of Earth, the glad of Heaven,
His tragic fate shall learn;
And on Fame-leaf and Angel-leaf,
The name of HALE shall burn![26]

Nathan Hale's memory is a precious national possession, while at Yale it is not too much to say that it is revered. Every graduate of the University claims special interest in him, for did he not, as an undergraduate, and in after life, embody in classic form the Yale ideal? He strengthened at New Haven his intellectual, moral, and social traits, and identified himself heartily with the various interests of the student body. The friendships which he formed were intimate, and were kept up in after life. His Yale diploma, as we know, was the partner of his sad fate. Small wonder that in the brief inscription on his tombstone space was found for the words, "received the first honors of Yale College, Sept., 1773."

A tablet on Connecticut Hall, and the noble statue by Bela Pratt (B.F.A. 1899) commemorate him at his Alma Mater. The University Library preserves records of the Linonia Society written in his own hand, as well as an autograph letter which was bought at auction in Philadelphia, in 1913, for $1,525, and presented by an alumnus. No authentic portrait is known, although a miniature is said to have once belonged to his fiancée in Hartford. *Nathan Hale*, by Professor Henry Phelps Johnston (B.A. 1862), is in itself a noble memorial, which should be read by every Yale man.

[26] Johnston, *Nathan Hale*, pp. 189, 191.

Friend Tallmadge,
Although a first attempt prov'd vain,
I'm still resolv'd my end t' obtain.
My temper's such I rare give out,
In what I 'tempt for one bad bout.
Were this the case, you'd never see
Lines, form'd to feet and rhyme from me.
But being sadly mortifyd
At thoughts of laying it aside;
Reviv'd a little by your letter,
With hopes of speeding better,
At length I venture forth once more,
But fearing soon to run ashore.

My thoughts had once convey'd you home
In safety to your wonted dome;
But gladly went a second time,
Attended by your muse and rhyme.
That you are there, the single proof,
You bring, to me, is quite enough.
But here, I think you're wrong, to blame,
Your gen'rous muse, and call her lame.
For when arriv'd no mark was found,
Of weakness, lameness, sprain or wound.
As soon as stop'd, away she trips
(And that without or spurs or whips)
With me in charge (a grievous load!)
Along the way she lately trode.
In all, she gave no fear or pain,
Unless, at times, to hold the rein.
Now judge, unless intirely sound,
If she could bear me such around.
It's certain then your muse is heal'd,
Or else, came sound from Weathersfield.

Whene'er with friends I correspond,
I seek for food of which they're fond,
But if my best 's of meaner kind,
I strive to dress it to their mind.
For this I leave my wonted course,
With you, and seek for aid from verse.

Although unsigned, this letter to his Yale classmate and intimate friend, Benjamin Tallmadge (q.v.), is undoubtedly in Hale's handwriting. It bears on the back the endorsement, "the celebrated Capt Nathan Hale." This is in the handwriting of Rev. Dr. William B. Sprague (B.A. 1815), the best-known American autograph collector of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Professor Henry Phelps Johnston examined the amusing doggerel printed above and urged its purchase by the University. He wrote:

> It is evidently Hale's first attempt at poetry in college (Senior year, I imagine) in answer to lines that Tallmadge had sent him. They were then corresponding on literature, criticism, etc. Tallmadge's second prose letter in the series is at Hartford and is marked by Hale (as I have lately made out), as 'N²'—No 2. This little endorsement has heretofore been an enigma, but the above is to my mind clearly the meaning of it.
>
> The letter also confirms the tradition that Hale roomed in South Middle and *in the South entry,* the latter, I believe, not known before.
>
> The poetry at Henkel's [auction rooms] accordingly, was almost certainly, (to my view, *certainly*) written by Hale as a student performance in the above building and entry.

As the poem is not signed, a reproduction is added in the Memorial Hall collection of his name as it appears attesting the records of the Linonia Society for the meeting of January 9, 1771.

An additional autograph document in the author's collection is also added for its references to Hale by a classmate, Elihu Marvin.

Norwich 26 Feb. 1776.

Sr. Received yours by Mr. Richards. . . . . I did not send by the post however I wrote and expected it would have gone sometime since. The reason I did not send by the post was I understood he rode by subscription and that nonsubscribers paid Postage, which I supposed you would think dear. . But I find he brings letters for me and demands nothing however the matter is I intend to know soon and be able to send in a Constitutional way. . . . . One piece of news; I have set out to manufacture Salpetre. hope the Army in future will be in no want of powder for I have extracted at least *half a pound.*

It is said in Letterwriting it is best to write what comes uppermost. . . . .

but what think you had I best tell you how mad I have been to day or not.? . . . . I rather doubt it; and yet since I have raised your curiosity I believe I must in some measure gratify it. I think as we were walking down street I told you something of our affairs in the Light Infantry company. . . . . We have this day been *pretending* to exercise and manoeuvre, and as is usual mustered one Commission Officer and for matter of what he knew about discipline we might as well have been without *him*. . . . . To put one's self to some considerable cost to fix to have raised expectations of making some appearance, to attract the attention of men of skill and judgment, as well as to equip ourselves to serve our Country, and then to be haw'd about by a set of Ignoramus's and made the sport and ridicule of spectators you may well think will stir old Adam especially in a person whose vanity tells him if the Tables were turned matters would not work just so. . . . .

What scheme shall now poor Corp^{l} lay
Since Polly's gone, an still doth stay;
If there I knock they bid me walk in
But Polly's not in hall or kitchin.
Then out he goes and does not tarry
Whilst Cretia cries "pray what's your hurry;
By that time this is fairly done
Lo! Tom. replies the Corp^{l}'s gone,
He's gone 'tis true replete with cheer
But hardly knows which way to stear.
When musing thus within himself
" Near by lives Nathan's other self,
" Poor Girl she's left almost alone,
Since Neighbour Hale's been gone from home
" By Nature's laws we are directed
" To visit such as are afflicted."
Then onward strait directs his course
To seek and find the weeping house,
When there: the Lady drown'd in tears
With sad complaints doth fill his ears.
" Behold (she cries) the Cap^{t} cruel
" Hath left me neither food nor fuel;
" O more than frozen *guilty* heart,
" That could with so much ease depart
" And leave me here as yet untried
" A poor, forsaken helpless bride."
Her heart to ease her mind to calm,
He then pours in the friendly balm
Of honor gaind, of service done

A treasure which he'll sure bring home
The side is full the rhyme is bad
So I'll leave off and go to bed
Of this if you are quite observant
You'll find I'm still your humbl. Servt.

P. S. forwarded directly to N. London by Mr. E. Marvin Richards.

Only about a dozen autograph letters of Nathan Hale are known to exist, and when any one of them is offered for sale, it brings a large price. The letter bears on the back, in what is unquestionably our hero's handwriting, the endorsement, "E. Marvin Feby. 26th 1776." Marvin was Hale's classmate and intimate friend at college, and like him he became a Connecticut schoolmaster, and later an officer in the Revolutionary Army.

Hale, at the time of his death, is supposed to have been engaged to Alicia Adams of Hartford, but it is evident from this letter that Miss "Polly" of Norwich at least felt that she had some claim on his affections less than a year previous to his execution. Then "Nathan's other self" complained of his going to the army leaving her

. . . . as yet untried
A poor, forsaken helpless bride.

An interesting sidelight on this conjecture, at least from the young lady's standpoint, is found in another letter written by Marvin to Hale. "Polly hears of one and another at New London who have letters from Mr. Hale but none comes to me Polly says. . . . . P. S. Miss Polly's complits to Mr. Hale—A letter would not be disagreeable."[27] It is clear from these letters, and from other evidence, that Hale shared the tendency of youth to be interested in the other sex—a touch of humanity to which we should raise no objection!

[27] Johnston, *Nathan Hale,* p. 161. Letter dated December 15, 1775.

Peter Buell Porter

Class of 1791

Born, August 14, 1773; Died, March 20, 1844

Major General in War of 1812, and Secretary of War

Porter's brilliant record for bravery and efficient leadership in connection with the second war with England entitles him to recognition among the University's patriots. He inherited from his Yale father, Colonel Joshua Porter (B.A. 1754), both his patriotism and his interest in military matters. The Colonel commanded a regiment in the campaign against Burgoyne, and during most of his son's boyhood was a physician in Salisbury, where he was in charge of the cannon and ammunition works that were of such service to the Revolutionary cause. In this Connecticut village the son was born, and he is entered as from it in the "Catalogus Recentium," or Freshman List, of November, 1787. In his Senior year he served as Librarian of Brothers, an appointment which implied a reputation for reliability and an interest in books. He does not seem to have been obliged to economize as a student. The College Butler's records show that wine, tobacco, cider, and beer are frequent entries under his name. There is no reference to his having been conspicuous in any way in undergraduate days. A good account of the routine of the student life of his time is given in a letter written by a Freshman, in 1790, and quoted by Professor Dexter:

> The Students here are not in want of exercises. At half an hour after five in the morning the Bel rings which calls us all to arise, & at the toleing of the same which is soon after we all walk to the Chappel, attend prayers and then retire to our rooms. In about half an hour we are called to restation which continues till about eight. Immediately after this we go to breckfast, after this we return to our rooms to our studies. Then again by the ringing of the bel at eleven we are called to restation. Soon after we go to dinner, also a little before five in the aftenoon we attend restation and from thence to prayers in the chappel Directly after we go to supper and from thence we retire to our rooms in College and after a reasonable

time retire to sleep. To these rounds of duties each Student is compeld to attend and on failier thereof a fine is inflicted for each offence. . . . .[1]

The destruction of the family papers near Buffalo, in connection with the War of 1812, has resulted in obliterating all records that Porter may have kept of his college career, but fortunately they could not destroy a well-trained mind, and an interest in education which he later put to good advantage as a Regent of the University of the State of New York. Like many of the most ambitious young men of his day, he entered, after graduation, the Litchfield Law School, and then took up the practice of his profession in Western New York. Here his ability, attractive personality, and interest in public affairs, soon made him the most prominent political leader of his section. In 1808, he was elected to Congress, where his career was conspicuous for two things: a most important and influential speech favoring aid in the construction of waterways like the Erie Canal, and the report which he presented as chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, recommending war with Great Britain. It is interesting to note that Porter and Calhoun (q.v.) made a Yale majority on this committee. The report which he drafted closed with these words:

> The period has arrived when in the opinion of your committee it is the sacred duty of Congress to call forth the patriotism and resources of the country. By the aid of these, and with the blessing of God, we confidently trust we shall be enabled to procure that redress which has been sought for by justice, by remonstrance, and forbearance in vain.[2]

Six resolutions followed, recommending an increase of ten thousand men in the regular army; a levy of fifty thousand volunteers; the outfitting of all vessels of war not in actual service; and the arming of merchantmen. Porter opened the debate in a candid speech. "It was the determination of the committee," he said, "to recommend open and decided war,—a war as vigorous and effective as the resources of the country and the relative situation of ourselves and our enemy would enable us to prosecute."[3] The resolutions were

[1] *Yale B. and A.*, Vol. IV, p. 701.
[2] Adams, *History of the United States of America*, Vol. II, p. 136.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 136.

adopted by an overwhelming majority. No sooner was war declared than he showed his sincerity by resigning his seat in Congress and recruiting a brigade of volunteers, a task for which his experience as Colonel in the state militia was of much assistance. His energy and proven ability in early engagements along the New York frontier led to his appointment, in 1813, as Brigadier General of New York Volunteers. It was General Porter who commanded his troops in the successful battle of Lundy's Lane, and it was he who planned and led the sortie from Fort Erie—a brilliant success. He led a column of sixteen hundred men, mostly volunteers, captured a blockhouse and battery, and spiked the enemy's guns. His three leading officers, and about one-fourth of his men, were killed.[4] He was himself slightly wounded, but the importance of his achievement resulted in his promotion to a Major Generalship. For these and other services the Legislature of New York presented him with a sword, while the federal government ordered a gold medal struck for him "in testimony of the high sense entertained by congress" of his "gallantry and good conduct in the several conflicts of Chippewa, Niagara, and Erie."[5] A photograph of the medal, showing a bas-relief bust of the General in profile may be seen with the engraving in the Yale collection described in these volumes.

The contemporary judgment of Porter's executive ability and military capacity is shown by the fact that when President Madison was face to face with the difficult problem of reorganizing the regular army at the close of the war, he is believed to have offered him the appointment of Commander-in-chief. The position was not accepted. Later, after further congressional service, and after acting as Commissioner to determine the Northwestern boundary of the United States, and much activity in the public life of New York, General Porter entered President Adams' Cabinet as Secretary of War. This appointment was due in the first instance to the earnest support of

[4] For account, see *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Chapter III.
[5] Loubat, *Medallic History of the United States of America*, p. 204.

Henry Clay, one of his strong political friends.[6] They held similar views regarding the internal development of the country. In this connection Porter should be remembered as one of the leaders in the movement for constructing the Erie Canal. He served with Gouverneur Morris and DeWitt Clinton on the commission which explored the route, and aided the project in many ways.

There may be difference of opinion as to whether or not the War of 1812 was entirely justifiable, but there is unanimity among historians as to the honorable part played by General Porter in helping to bring about the success of the American arms. His tombstone bears this inscription:

> Peter Buell Porter, a pioneer in Western New York; a statesman eminent in the annals of the nation and the State; a general in the armies of America, defending in the field what he had maintained in the council. Born in Salisbury, Connecticut, August 14, 1773. Died at Niagara Falls, March 20, 1844. Known and mourned throughout that extensive region which he had been among the foremost to explore and to defend.[7]

His grandson, Hon. Peter A. Porter (B.A. 1874), is planning to publish an adequate biography.

Department of War
July 22d 1828

Sir,

. . . . We shall always take pleasure in extending to citizens, such facilities in obtaining their rights, as may be in our power, and as shall not infringe on our public duties. But I need hardly observe to you, that Commissary General Irvine had no authority to pledge the government in contracts for the purchase of ornamental dress for the Officers of the Army; and that he has not pledged himself, in this case, either in his official or private capacity seems quite evident from the fact, that the debt is not yet paid. You will pardon me for adding the further remark, which I make with greater freedom to *you*, who know how to appreciate it, that aside from the labours it would cost, the practice, if indulged in, of making the Department the Agent and administrator of the *private* concerns of the Officers of the Army, would be calculated to interrupt the harmony, and lessen the respect which it is

[6] *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, Vol. VII, pp. 474, 544.
[7] Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, p. 838.

important should be maintained and reciprocated, between the Officers of the Army and the functionaries of this Department.

You will not misunderstand me to mean that dishonourable conduct in an Officer in relation to his private concerns may not present a proper subject for the interference and animadversion of this Department; but that the simple fact of an Officers being unable or unwilling to discharge a private debt, does not present sufficient ground for official interference.

I beg you to be assured of the continuance
of my ancient friendship and respect

PETER B. PORTER

Col William I. Duane
Phil[a]

The "ancient friendship" evidently goes back to the War of 1812, when Colonel Duane was Adjutant General. Porter retained through life his interest in the army, publishing many volumes on military affairs. This letter was signed by him as Secretary of War in the Cabinet of John Quincy Adams.

Cassius Marcellus Clay

Class of 1832

Born, October 19, 1810; Died, July 22, 1903

Anti-Slavery Leader

Cassius M. Clay, whose father was a cousin of Henry Clay, was one of the very small group of Southern men, including General George Thomas, General Robert Anderson, and Admiral Farragut, who, from motives of loyalty to the Union, or of opposition to slavery, aided the North in the Civil War. But no Southern man was so active in the anti-slavery cause as Clay, and none believed more deeply than he the words he wrote in an autograph album in 1857, "Liberty is the best gift of God to men."

This picturesque and vigorous personality was born in Madison County, Kentucky, being the son of General Green Clay, a soldier distinguished in the War of 1812. He studied at Transylvania University but went to Yale for the last two years of his course. His decision in favor of New Haven was made, according to his own statement, "on account of its reputed beauty of trees, as well as its reputation for thoroughness in education."[1] He adds: "There were quite a number of Southerners then in Yale; so I soon felt at home, and entered upon my studies with good heart. I joined one of the college societies, and took a leading part in the debates. . . . ."[2] Among his friends in college were Allen Taylor Caperton, afterwards Senator from West Virginia, and Joseph Longworth, later a prominent citizen and benefactor of Cincinnati. The greatest influence in his course was hearing the slavery question debated, and especially listening to a speech by William Lloyd Garrison in the Center Church on the Green. It made a deep impression upon him, so much so that he tells us: "I then resolved, however, that, when I had the strength,

[1] *Life of Cassius Marcellus Clay*, p. 54.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

if ever, I would give slavery a death struggle."[3] He had always hated slavery, but until now had feared that it was "the fixed law of nature or of God." Shortly afterwards he was chosen by his classmates to deliver the address on the Centennial of Washington's birthday. Another event of his Senior year was a religious revival in the College, as a result of which he was baptized in Long Island Sound! At Commencement his part was an address on the "Character of Daniel Boone." His stand was a good one, entitling him to a Dissertation appointment.

A classmate has preserved an account of the "rebellion" in their Senior year. It is of interest because this event was largely due to the sectional feeling which was creating the national crisis that brought Clay to the front:

> The class of 1832 gained a sad distinction, in being the subject of the last great rebellion, the greatest of all college-performances of that sort. It made a fracture throwing out nearly half the members, and leaving only fifty-three to receive their degrees; but the personal bond of friendship survived, and neither fragment failed to attain honorable positions in life; while the graduating members have been among the foremost advocates of the college and contributors to its needed pecuniary aid. It would be pleasant to leave this item of history unrecorded; but the matter has its bearing on philosophy and the progress of college-rule, and to that extent requires mention.
>
> Two students of ambitious natures were rivals for the chieftaincy in class-influence and the preference in college-grade—one from the North, cold, hard and arrogant, the other from the South, venturesome, crafty and popular—neither of them too good to seek for rule or ruin. It was in dog-days, and the long lessons in an unskilfully constructed work on conic sections were a strain on the majority, while light to the few natural mathematicians. Such was the occasion. Dissatisfaction led to mutterings; and then the two rivals commenced the mischief, and ran a race in winning over others to disaffection. The college-government became next in fault. The affair was managed badly. It is not well to fix the blame in any particular quarter; but clearly the thing might have been dealt with like the small-pox panic, and with equal effect. Alas, it was not so to be! Conic sections, overtasking, dog-days, reckless rivals and official harshness combined to work out the bad result. The experience of that affair did not instantly correct all the errors which had led to it; for not many months later the remaining members of the Class felt an encroachment and a grievance, and in full assembly and with great spirit uttered their sentiments. There was an ugly prospect of a fatal repetition of the

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

prior scene. But as we had our own way the elements subsided, and the class of 1832 went on in peace to the end, and finally celebrated its Commencement with great eclat, although the Asiatic cholera was then first raging in New York and the country was in general alarm.[4]

Such undergraduate days of storm and stress seem a natural preparation for the hostilities and troubled years which Clay was soon to enter upon in earnest.

After graduation his connection with the College was slight. He returned once to lecture on "Economy of Pure Breeds of Live Stock," and when he published his racy autobiography he presented a copy to the University Library, characteristically writing a signed inscription on three different pages.

The main events in his career, aside from his military record elsewhere recorded,[5] are these. After studying law, he served several terms in the Kentucky Legislature, where he was conspicuous for his advocacy of free schools and of a better jury system. He was an early anti-slavery leader, publishing *The True American,* which was started in June, 1845, and stood for the policy of gradual emancipation. This was so unpopular that he had to fortify his office, but in spite of this the press was seized and carried out of the state. With characteristic energy he continued the publication in Ohio. Horace Greeley, in an appreciative review of Clay's anti-slavery services, says that this was "the first paper which ever bearded the monster in his den, and dared him to a most unequal encounter. Its establishment was a public and widely resounding challenge to the slave holding oligarchy. . . . ."[6] The prospectus stated that the paper would be "devoted to gradual and constitutional emancipation, so as at some definite time to place our state upon the firm, safe, and just basis of liberty."[7] Clay's action at this time, as the representative of a prominent Southern family in the midst of a slave-holding

[4] "Sketches from Memory," by Charles Tracy (B.A. 1832), published in the Appendix of *Biographical Memoranda . . . . of the Class of 1832.* [1880.]

[5] See his autograph letter.

[6] Greeley, *Writings of Cassius Marcellus Clay,* pp. vi, vii.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 211.

constituency, showed much courage, and was a great help to the opponents of slavery in the North. As Greeley put it, he stood "alone among five millions, raising his voice against the iniquities of human slavery on the soil where they are perpetrated."[8]

He served creditably in the Mexican War, and on his return was a defeated candidate for the Kentucky governorship. He was considered for the War portfolio by Lincoln (whose nomination he had advocated at the Chicago Convention). He was urged for this position by some of the most representative newspapers and public bodies in New York City,[9] but the post went to Cameron, and Clay was appointed Minister to Russia. In the meantime Washington was being attacked and he organized the "Cassius M. Clay Battalion of Washington Guards," which rendered good service in the defense of the capitol.

His most important contribution to the political life of the country was through his agitation of the anti-slavery and emancipation views already mentioned. These made him a conspicuous figure, not only in his native state but throughout the Union, and led Lincoln to send him on a secret mission to Kentucky just prior to the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. His judgment was often at fault, his methods open to criticism, but there can be no doubt that he was an important factor, especially in the border states, in creating and encouraging the sentiment which led to the abolition of slavery. Wendell Phillips wrote to him, in 1862, on his return from Russia:

> Now, one word to yourself. Thank you heartily for coming home. We need you here. Don't, on any account, go away again. Your birth, a Kentuckian, your military repute, your political importance, make you more than almost any man able to advise, and likely to have your advice weighed. I consider you worth at least any half dozen Northerners just now. Now press the Government to your views, and go into the field authorized to carry them out. I think we shall succeed at last; but it seems to me *you* have the power to hasten the adoption of the needed policy, so much as to save thousands of lives, millions of dollars, and untold dangers to Republicanism springing from the continuance of such a war.[10]

[8] *Ibid.*, p. vi.
[9] *Life of Cassius Marcellus Clay*, Chapter XIV.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 583, 584.

Similarly the poet Bryant wrote him two years earlier: "The great work of bringing a community prejudiced in favor of slavery to see their error, and to permit its evils to be freely discussed, has been laid upon you, and you have shown yourself fully equal to it. He may be esteemed a fortunate man who does not fall below the occasion to which he is summoned."[11] Clay has received little credit from the historians. He was too erratic to be a wise guide, and too egotistical and violent to hold long the confidence of the public. Yet he was seriously considered as a running mate with Lincoln in his first canvass, being second only to Hannibal Hamlin in the number of votes received. He has himself given us a characteristic summary of his own claims to fame:

> I voluntarily volunteered to save Washington from capture, and did so. Why was that service forgotten? I did more than any man to overthrow slavery. I carried Russia with us, and thus prevented what would have been the strong alliance of France, England, and Spain against us; and thus was saved the Union! I was one of the principal factors, at least so all admit, in these three great events.[12]

Of course this is absurd, and we are not surprised that in his last years his mind became seriously affected, but in the final analysis, his influence in bringing on the great contest was not inconsiderable. Greeley realized the significance of the man when he edited his speeches, prefixing to them a laudatory memoir. Clay was dead in earnest in his views of freedom and of liberty, but he was too addicted to frontier methods of enforcing his convictions to become an influential statesman. He was a free lance, using his pen and his voice constantly against slavery and other forms of oppression, and his gun all too freely in duels against those with whom he was at odds. It should be remembered to his credit that he was a vigorous supporter of Berea College and gave the institution some of its present property. Perhaps his most notable service was his successful insistence on the right of free speech in Kentucky in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. In his later life he was fond of laying

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 576. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 462.

emphasis on the friendly relations which he had helped to establish between the United States and Russia, and believed that these were important preliminaries to the purchase of Alaska.

His own autobiography, *The Life of Cassius Marcellus Clay,* and Horace Greeley's *The Writings of Cassius Marcellus Clay* show the man's personality in bold relief.

C. M. Clay
White Hall P. O.
Jan: 5: 1880. Mad. Co. Ky.

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 29th Decr ulto. is received. I have no military order preserved. As Colonel or Major, by courtesy, commanding the "Clay battalion" James Lane of Kansas acting as 2d. in command, though not commissioned, I guarded Washington in the spring of 1861, till I was relieved by the Regiments from N. York & Massachusetts. I was supplied by Genl Scott with arms: & received from A. Lincoln, President, a Colt's revolver: which I now have, in honor of my services.

By request of Genl. L. Wallace I took command of his corps of mixed Arms at Lexington, Ky. in the fall of 1862, & was marching against Kirby Smith then threatening Richmond, when I was relieved by Genl. Wm. Nelson near the Ky. river. I was then Major General of U. S. volunteers, and on a secret mission to the Ky. Legislature, sent by the President Lincoln, which I fulfilled to his satisfaction—issuing his emancipation proclamation as soon as received my report, in Septr 2. 1862.

Yours truly
C. M. Clay
ex. Majr General U. States Volunteers

B. Perry Esq.
Belmont N. Jersey
U. S. A.a

Clay also served in the Mexican War as Captain of General Harrison's "Old Infantry." He was proud of the part he played in defending Washington, in 1861, and received a special letter of thanks for these services, signed both by President Lincoln and Secretary Cameron.

Richard Taylor

Class of 1845

Born, January 27, 1826; Died, April 12, 1879

Confederate General

Yale has graduated only one President of the United States, but she has had on her rolls the sons of three Presidents, Zachary Taylor, Martin Van Buren, and William Howard Taft. Zachary Taylor was a soldier before he was President, so the son came naturally to his brilliant military career.

He was born in New Orleans, and was educated by tutors and at private schools at home and abroad, until he entered the Junior class in the autumn of 1843, after a few months of study at Harvard. His thorough classical training had given him literary interests so that he appreciated the privileges of the College Library. He was a voracious, although somewhat desultory, reader. His combination of intellectual ability and social charm gave him a prominent place in the class, and he belonged to the oldest of the Senior societies. Although his actual stand under the marking system of the time was not high, a classmate describes him as "an excellent scholar . . . . handsome, always finely dressed and a popular and genial fellow."[1] The impression which he made on his contemporaries was that of a Southern gentleman—courteous, generous, talented, and rather easy-going. He lived outside of College at what was then 19 Chapel Street. A classmate recalls this incident as illustrating his generous spirit:

> On one occasion he was present at one of the religious meetings in the old Theological Chamber. A collection was taken up, I think it was for foreign Missions. Dick threw in *ten* dollars! This was so extraordinary, at that day, and for a student who was not identified with the religious activities of the College, that it made a deep impression on us, and was talked of for some time, to Dick's credit.[2]

[1] MS. Letter from C. C. Esty.
[2] MS. Letter from Rev. Thomas K. Davis.

One who knew him well as an undergraduate, writing shortly after his death, said: "He was a man of good abilities, but rather lazy, and won no special distinction in college. But he was very popular in his class, a genial companion, full of fun and frolic, and known as a kind-hearted, good fellow."[3]

Taylor's college life was passed in the relatively quiet days at the close of President Day's administration.

> The tone of the College was good, and we had, on the whole, rather quiet times during our college career. The days of "Class Bullies" and of scrimmages with the town boys were over, and the days of college athletics had not begun. Ball playing had not as yet been reduced to a science, and there were no base-ball nines or foot-ball teams; neither was there any boat crew. Even the "fence" was not the institution which it afterwards became. Do not imagine, however, that with us it was "all work and no play." We had our sports, and managed to extract as much fun out of college life as was consistent with proper attention to the solid work that had brought us here.
>
> We were subjected to one hardship, of which the later generations know nothing, and that was—*early attendance at morning prayers* [fall and winter six, summer five] *and recitations.*[4]

As was to be expected of a loyal son of the South, Taylor was elected an honorary member of Calliope, the young rival of Linonia and of Brothers. This society had the advantage of helping to maintain a strong Southern tradition at the University, but the disadvantage of tending to divide a class on sectional lines. In the preface of its catalogue, published in 1839, are these words:

> By a long established custom, which appears now to wear the sanctity of a law by prescription, but few inhabitants of the New England states have offered themselves as candidates for admission; and, of consequence, the whole number of the body has been always smaller than that of its two sister associations.[5]

The literary societies were then at their height, the great constitutional questions which preceded the Civil War affording vital matters for discussion. Their influence on the development of their members

[3] Congressman Kellogg (B.A. 1846) in *Waterbury American.*

[4] Rev. Dr. H. B. Chapin (B.A. 1847), *Jubilee Anniversary Report of the Class of 1847,* p. 99. The most exciting event of this period was the stabbing of Tutor Dwight in the autumn of 1843.

[5] *Catalogue of the Calliopean Society,* p. 4. As Taylor did not enter Yale until Junior year he was merely elected an "honorary member." The election took place at the 824th meeting of the society.

was fully recognized. In fact, the main lament of the graduates of the thirties, forties, and early fifties, on returning to New Haven after the war, was the decline of these old clubs. As a representative graduate, who was in Yale with Taylor, said at an alumni meeting a half century later, "We cannot but feel that it was a sad day for the College when these Societies ceased to exist, for they filled a place in the training of young men which the ordinary curriculum of the college does not and cannot fill."[6]

Soon after graduation he joined the army under his father's command on the Rio Grande. He took part in several engagements of the Mexican War, including the important battle of Palo Alto, and remained in the field until the autumn of 1846, when ill health forced his retirement. He then took up the life of a Southern planter, serving also in the Louisiana Senate, and identifying himself in various ways with the political movements of the time.

When the war broke out he went to the front as Colonel of a Louisiana regiment. In the autumn of 1861, he was promoted to a Brigadier Generalship, and led his brigade with distinguished success in the Valley campaign under "Stonewall" Jackson. The latter presented him with a battery of artillery, in view of the gallantry of his troops in capturing Port Republic, and recommended his promotion. He was prominent in the operations against General McClellan at Cold Harbor and elsewhere. These services won him a Major Generalship and transfer to the command of Louisiana. Here his success in building up an effective army out of almost nothing, and equipping it, mainly by captures from Union troops, was brilliant. During this time he was so active that he kept a large federal force occupied, until May, 1864, when, with only eight thousand men, he attacked General Banks with forty thousand, gaining a memorable victory, with twenty-two guns and many prisoners as visible evidence of his achievement. This, and his subsequent engagements, termi-

[6] Rev. Dr. H. B. Chapin (B.A. 1847), *Jubilee Anniversary Report of the Class of 1847*, p. 103.

nated the Louisiana campaign, which won for General Taylor a Lieutenant Generalship, with transfer to the command of Alabama, Mississippi, etc. Later he succeeded Hood as leader of the Army of the Tennessee. In 1865, being informed of Lee's surrender and of the capture of President Davis, he gave over his eight thousand troops to General Canby, near Meridian, Mississippi. He retained his horse, which was practically his only property, as his sugar estate had been confiscated. The sale of the horse gave him the means of removing his family to New Orleans, which was afterwards his home. As a military officer few men in the Southern Army surpassed him in promptness of action, fertility of resource, discipline, and administrative skill.

General Taylor was a man of unusual intellectual and social charm. He was a prince among *raconteurs,* his reputation as a teller of Southern stories having extended even to England, where his *Destruction and Reconstruction* was published and gained much attention. It is a valuable first-hand account of the Civil War, and of the years immediately following, from the standpoint of an ardent Southern sympathizer. It is written with spirit and independence. It shows that its author used the influence of his position to try to heal the wounds of the nation—a fact also evidenced by his accepting later an election as one of the Trustees of the Peabody Southern Education Fund. To his skill as a military commander he added a knowledge of history and of literature, keen wit, and the highest sense of honor, traits which made him a fine example of the old-time Southern gentleman.

Head Qrs 8th Brigade D. N. Va
Camp Bellevue March 14th 1862

General

In reply to your communication of this date I have the honour to suggest the following named officers of my command as suitable to compose a court martial, there are still three required to fill up the requisite number which I am unable to supply from my command—

[Here follow the names of Lt. Col. Nichols and of eight other officers of Louisiana regiments, also the name of Lieutenant Flower suggested for Judge Advocate.]

Respectfully Yr obt Servt
R. Taylor
Brig Genl Comdg.

To
Maj Genl Ewell
Comdg 3d Division D. N. Va

The brevity of the letter and its form of expression are easily understood when it is realized that it was written in the midst of the Shenandoah Valley campaign under General Jackson. Taylor had entered Virginia almost a year before as Colonel of the Ninth Louisiana Volunteers. The letter is addressed to Richard Stoddert Ewell, later in command of the second corps of the Confederate Army.

Theodore Winthrop

Class of 1848

Born, September 22, 1828; Died, June 10, 1861

Patriot and Author

It is fortunate for a University when it can point to a man of Winthrop's culture and character as its representative hero in a righteous war. His novels entitle him to a place among Yale's men of letters, but the fact that he was the first Union officer to die in action in the Civil War has given him an historical position as a patriot more enduring than his literary reputation.

He inherited the best blood of New England, tracing his descent on the paternal side from John Winthrop, and on his mother's side from that prolific progenitor of intellect and character, Jonathan Edwards. No graduate has had a nobler Yale inheritance and connection. The roots go down to Benjamin Woolsey (B.A. 1709), Jonathan Edwards (B.A. 1720), and John Still Winthrop (B.A. 1737), and his relatives included three Yale Presidents—his uncle, Dr. Woolsey, and the two Dwights. His father, Francis Bayard Winthrop, was a Yale graduate (B.A. 1804), a New York merchant, and a man of much culture, who removed to New Haven, in 1823, because of the town's educational advantages. Here Theodore was born in a house on Wooster Street. He entered college when sixteen, a high-spirited but sensitive fellow of pure character, deep refinement, and much intellectual curiosity. He was liked by his classmates, but was rather too fastidious about dress, manners, and personal appearance[1] to appeal very strongly to a rather rough-and-ready college generation. In Freshman year he was rusticated for a short time, as indicated in this Faculty vote, which shows that Winthrop was akin to most men of letters in having some difficulty with the

[1] See article on "Theodore Winthrop" in *Yale Literary Magazine*, Vol. XXVII, p. 195.

authorities as an undergraduate: "Theodore Winthrop of the Sophomore Class having been detected in breaking windows on the night of Saturday, Nov. 2nd, it was voted that he be dismissed from College."[2] He showed promise during the latter part of his course of excellent scholarship, Greek and mental philosophy being the studies in which he was most deeply interested. His stand at graduation was of Dissertation rank, which represented a step up from the Junior Appointment list. In his journal for his twentieth birthday, he gives a brief summary of his undergraduate life:

> The next thing of importance was my entering college in August, 1843. I took a good standing on my entrance, from previous knowledge, without any study. I had no desire to excel; I was idle and reckless all the first year, till on Nov. 11th, 1844, I was dismissed from college for breaking Freshmen's windows. I spent the winter idly with my brother Edward in Marietta, Ohio, and came home with better hopes. I wasted the summer, and at last entered Yale again, still idle, till about Christmas, I saw, and loved, as the influence upon me showed, Miss ———, and immediately gave up the folly that had possessed me. This prepared the way for the entrance of God's spirit into my heart, for in March next following, Mrs. ——, speaking to me on my choice of a profession, made me first think, to any effect, of my relation to a distant future, and this was my first step in what was certainly a new life. I was confirmed that summer, and took the communion on the first Sunday in August. At that time, the young lady whom I mentioned above continued to exercise a great influence over me, though I never knew her, or exchanged a word with her in my life, and I shall always, even if I never see her again, retain a very grateful feeling towards her, for an influence so entirely unconscious as it must have been. In April, 1848, I was examined for the Berkeleian scholarship, and declared equal to Colton, my competitor; drew lots with him and lost. This I believe brings the chronicle down to historic times.[3]

This reference to his early love for a girl whom he had never met was, of course, intended for no eyes but his own, but the experience is worthy of record. It was, perhaps, an extreme case, yet there are many men, more than we realize, who are kept to pure and high ideals as undergraduates because of their devotion to some young woman of refinement and strong character. In fact, life histories, which the author has been privileged to know of students of many college

[2] MS. Faculty Records, November 6, 1844.
[3] *Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop*, p. 19.

generations, lead him to think such friendships, when really worthy of the name, among the potent factors in helping young men to pass safely through the critical years of late youth and early manhood.

Just before graduation he wrote in a class autograph album preserved in the University Library, these words:

> 'Tempora mutantur,' we are pushed off the stage of college life, the Shawmut passes into other hands, but the memories of the pleasant times we had in her, remain and ever will.

His journal for Commencement Day throws interesting light on his college course, especially on the ideals of study which dominated its latter half:

> Friday, August 25th, 1848. Commencement, with all its anxieties and interests, has passed. If I am not contented with my lot, no one can be. One thing I can feel now, and that is how much I owe to my mother, and to the influences of home, which have done so much for my character. My mother is worthy of all love and admiration, and of all care on my part, and I pray that I may feel this as I ought! Another thing I have learned is, that no effort is thrown away, as in preparing for these scholarships. I have done something, yet how little to what I might have done, but this little has made me Clark Scholar, and but for drawing lots, would have made me Berkeleian. Labor! labor is the great thing. Now I see how much better it was; if I had drawn the lot probably I should not have studied for the Clark and gained the higher honor, and should not have had the advantages of the study for it, which has done me more good than all the studies perhaps of my previous life; more than the Berkeleian, though that was an introduction and a discipline for it. . . . . The future is before me! I am a man! The motives of college exist for me no longer, the rewards which a man receives from the world are more distant, and perhaps more uncertain. Now, it must be study for study's sake, and from a sense of duty only; henceforth I must work like a man and perhaps like a horse. What a man is at twenty, when his character is nearly formed, there are many chances that he will be through life. Before twenty we have nearly all chosen what we will be.[4]

The Commencement "anxieties" probably had special reference to his dissertation. It was on "The Study of the Beautiful necessary to a Liberal Education"—a theme in harmony with his family tradition and with his own interests. The last sentence in the quotation above is interesting, for there is no clear evidence that he had as yet chosen

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

THEODORE WINTHROP

CLASS OF 1848

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

his own life work. He had considered both the ministry and teaching, but religious difficulties, which rendered him temporarily unhappy, and increasing ill health, made it seem to him best to abandon further study in New Haven on the Clark foundation, and to take a European trip. This he did, but the year of graduate work at Yale in mental science, languages, and history was an important factor in his education. The doubts that assailed him did not have as their final result the weakening of his fundamental convictions. A friend of his mature years writes:

> In the later days, when I knew him, the feverish ardor of the first religious impulse was past. It had given place to a faith much too deep and sacred to talk about, yet holding him always with serene, steady poise in the purest region of life and feeling. There was no franker or more sympathetic companion for young men of his own age than he; but his conversation fell from his lips as unsullied as his soul.[5]

The next five years were mainly spent in travel, although he was engaged for part of the time in business in New York and Panama. His literary and artistic tastes made him enjoy Europe to the full. He also got much from his trip to Central America, and back overland from California and Oregon to New York, and from the hard year spent as a volunteer under Lieutenant Strain in surveying a canal route across the Isthmus of Panama. On his return from these wanderings, in which he was gaining much experience, and literary material for *The Canoe and the Saddle, Life in the Open,* and his novels, he began the study of law in New York with one of the leaders of the Bar, Charles Tracy (B.A. 1832). He was admitted to practice the following year. In spite of legal work, and of political speeches in the interest of John C. Frémont for the presidency, this second period of his life was mainly devoted to literature. The first of his productions to appear in print was a description of Frederic E. Church's famous painting, *The Heart of the Andes,* now an excessively rare book, greatly sought after by bibliophiles. He worked hard at his novels, rewriting them after each rejection by a publisher.

[5] George William Curtis, in Biographical Sketch prefixed to *Cecil Dreeme,* p. 9.

He refused, however, to omit the account of the death of the horse "Don Fulano" in *John Brent,* although one firm was willing to accept the manuscript subject to this change. It was not until after his death that his novels were published, so Winthrop died entirely ignorant of his fame, which was high in the years following the Civil War. As one of the speakers at the commemorative celebration in Alumni Hall at the war's close said, "There was our own Winthrop, whose modest worth and accomplished genius was hidden from the world, till it flashed, like the sunlight of consecration, from his young and manly grave."[6] *Cecil Dreeme* had been accepted earlier, but its publication was delayed. It passed through several editions and received high commendation. One English critic went so far as to say that "With all its defects of irregular construction, this novel is marked by a more distinct vein of original genius than any American work of fiction known to us that has appeared since the author's death."[7] James Russell Lowell was so pleased by his tale, *Love and Skates,* which he accepted for the *Atlantic,* that he asked him to write an account of the march to Washington. This appeared later in two articles which attracted wide attention; but it is upon his posthumous novels, *Cecil Dreeme, John Brent,* and *Edwin Brothertoft,* that his literary reputation mainly rests. These gave promise of real power, and, had their author lived, it is probable that his name would have been grouped in this volume under Authors, rather than under Patriots. Professor Beers thinks *Cecil Dreeme* his best work. He calls it "a romance that reminds one a little of Hawthorne," and speaks of the "dash and buoyancy" which characterize its author's style.[8] But it is not unlikely that his work which will be longest read is *The Canoe and the Saddle,* a lively story of adventure in the great Northwest, which has just been republished (1913) with biographical and historical notes.

Attention must now be directed to the short but pregnant period

[6] *Commemorative Celebration,* p. 54.
[7] Quoted in Appleton, *American Biography,* Vol. VI, p. 577.
[8] Beers, *An Outline Sketch of American Literature,* pp. 244, 245.

of the war. He and his brother, William Woolsey Winthrop (B.A. 1851), whose military career was also a creditable one, joined the Seventh Regiment of New York as privates. They marched off April 17, 1861. He said to his mother as he bade her good-bye, "I do not take this step lightly,"[9] and to his uncle, President Woolsey, he wrote the day he left New York: "I go down to the front for the purpose of lending my aid to the great work of attempting to get rid of slavery in this country."[10]

When he met his death he was serving as General Benjamin F. Butler's military secretary and aide, with the rank of Major. Fortress Monroe was their base, and Winthrop, eager for active service, secured from his chief permission to go as a volunteer in the reconnoissance about Big Bethel, which he had helped to plan. General Magruder, in charge of the Confederate forces, reported that as the Union troops were about to be driven back "Major Winthrop was distinctly seen for some time, leading a body of men to the charge, and had mounted a log, and was waving his sword and shouting to his men to 'Come on,' when a North Carolina drummer boy borrowed a gun, leaped on to the battery, and shot him deliberately in the breast. He fell nearer to the enemy's works than any other man went during the fight."[11] George William Curtis has entered deeply into the spirit of that last scene which made the memory of Winthrop a national possession:

> For one moment that brave, inspiring form is plainly visible to his whole country, rapt and calm, standing upon the log nearest the enemy's battery, the mark of their sharpshooters, the admiration of their leaders, waving his sword, cheering his fellow-soldiers with his bugle voice of victory,—young, brave, beautiful, for one moment erect and glowing in the wild whirl of battle, the next falling toward the foe, dead, but triumphant.[12]

He died as he longed to die, bravely, in battle. Some time before he had written these prophetic words:

[9] *Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop*, p. 284.
[10] Woolsey's address at the *Commemorative Celebration*, July 26, 1865.
[11] *Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop*, p. 292.
[12] Biographical Sketch prefixed to *Cecil Dreeme*, p. 19.

Let me not waste in skirmishing my power
In petty struggles. Rather in the hour
Of deadly conflict may I nobly die,
In my first battle perish gloriously.[13]

The last tributes of respect to his memory were paid in New Haven, where his simple monument in the Grove Street Cemetery has been an inspiration to many. "When I die, put a granite cross over my grave," had been his request, and it was observed. The students of Yale followed the body to its last resting place, where Professor Porter delivered an address.

His life was brief, but culture, character, and high ideals permeated it from beginning to end. Had he lived he would probably have acquired greater literary fame, but he could have done nothing to increase the honor in which he was held by his Alma Mater, which felt that his memory had been consecrated for all time by his heroic death at Big Bethel. Unfortunately, he has no memorial at the University, although when the D.K.E. Society was incorporated, in 1865, it was called the Winthrop Trust Association, after the graduate then considered to be its most distinguished member.

The material for this account has been mainly derived from two sources: George William Curtis' Biographical Sketch prefixed to *Cecil Dreeme,* and *The Life and Poems of Theodore Winthrop,* edited by his sister.

Pacific Mail Steamship Company,
New-York, July 11th 1851.

Dear Uncle

. . . . A very fine new steamer of ours called the "Golden Gate" sails to-morrow on a trial excursion to Annapolis there to be inspected by the Navy Department previous to taking her place among the Mail steamships—A large party will go from N. Y. & many from Washington will return in her among them Mr Webster & his family—We anticipate a pleasant excursion and I shall go if possible especially as confinement to the office in this hot weather

[13] Quoted from Kingsley, *Yale College,* Vol. II, p. 240.

has rather enfeebled me I am looking forward with much pleasure to being in N. H. on commencement & meeting my classmates.

. . . . As for myself I have been pretty well and constantly occupied, learning much of the business in which am engaged—

I write this very hastily in a moments leisure and beg you will excuse its scrawling style on the ground of the great relief it is to be able to scrawl awhile after writing neatly all day—With best love & resp^{ts}. to Grandma & Aunt & the little ones—

I am Sir
with much respect
Yours
THEODORE WINTHROP

This letter to his uncle, President Woolsey, was written during the brief period when he was engaged in business. Winthrop had met in Europe William H. Aspinwall and had acted as tutor to his children. He was President of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, and was deeply interested in the development of commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific over the Isthmus. After serving for about a year at the headquarters of the company, Winthrop was transferred to their Panama office. This was something of a relief from the prosaic New York routine, where, in accordance with the custom of the time for young men learning business, his work seems to have been largely "writing neatly all day"—or in other words copying letters, spending valuable time in doing what is now accomplished much more speedily by simple mechanical devices.

The portions of the letter omitted in the transcript have to do entirely with family matters. Of the classmates to whom he refers, three, in addition to Winthrop, were to lose their lives in the war, two of them on the Southern side.

III. SUPPLEMENTARY NAMES

Joseph Hawley (Class of 1742), Born, 1723; Died, 1788.

A score of Yale patriots might be named who are better known than Joseph Hawley, but none that more deserves remembrance. He was a prominent lawyer who served for a generation in the General Court of Massachusetts, where he proved himself a vigorous opponent of Toryism. His influence may be appreciated from a statement of the first President Dwight, who referred to him as "one of the ablest and most influential men in Massachusetts Bay for a considerable period before the revolution: an event, in which few men had more efficiency."[1] He was considered as strong a supporter of the American cause in Western Massachusetts as Samuel Adams was in the Eastern section. In 1774, he drew up a paper beginning with the words, "We must fight, if we cannot otherwise rid ourselves of British taxation. . . . . It is now or never that we must assert our liberty."[2] And when war actually came he was among the very first in the country to advocate complete independence. Early in 1776, he wrote to Elbridge Gerry these prophetic words: "Independence is the only way to union and harmony, to vigor and dispatch in business. Our eyes will be single and our whole body full of light. . . . . Let there be a full revolution, or all has been done in vain."[3]

Hawley's only military service was in the local militia and as chaplain on the expedition to Louisburg. He frequently refused public office. The quotations above are sufficient evidence of his fearless and devoted patriotism, and of his large vision. As the biographer of James Otis says of him, "He, in fine, formed one of those manly, public-spirited and generous citizens, ready to share peril and decline reward, who illustrate the idea of a Commonwealth."[4]

The Memorial Hall autographs are depositions made in Hampshire "Before Joseph Hawley Just. Peace" in 1757 and in 1770, and are all in his handwriting.

Edmund Fanning (Class of 1757), Born, 1737; Died, 1818.

After his graduation from Yale, where he was a Berkeley Scholar, and where his Master's degree theme was a vigorous protest against democracy as

[1] Dwight, *Travels,* Vol. I, p. 300.
[2] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution,* p. 43.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 43.
[4] Tudor, *Life of James Otis,* pp. 253-260, quoted by Johnston.

a form of government, Fanning moved to North Carolina. Here he became a picturesque, independent, and prominent figure in public life. Later he went to New York as private secretary to Governor Tryon, and became Surveyor General of the province and Surrogate of the city. When the Revolution approached he raised and took command of a corps of loyalists known as the "King's American Regiment of Foot." In this he served throughout the war, being constantly in action. Yale men should remember him with gratitude, as it was probably mainly due to his intervention that the college buildings were spared when New Haven was invaded by the British, in 1779. Writing ten years later he says:

I still retain a fond remembrance and tender affection for that well regulated seminary of religion and learning where . . . . I made such progress in my academical instruction as has facilitated greatly those instances of distinction and success with which I have since been honored by my Royal Sovereign and his people, and it is no small satisfaction to me in the hour of public tranquillity to reflect that amid the Ravages of Civil War, and without injury or infidelity to the service in which I was employed, I had my well-meant share in averting, in the moment of impending ruin, its utter destruction.[5]

After the war he became Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia, and later Governor of Prince Edward Island. He rose to high rank in the British Army, passing through the grades of Major General and Lieutenant General to that of General, attained in 1808. Oxford made him a Doctor of Civil Law, while Yale and Dartmouth conferred upon him the Doctorate of Laws. His limitations of character and his haughty manner made him the object of frequent attack during his residence in America, but his later distinction and reputation seem to warrant his inclusion here. He may serve as the representative of that small group of Yale loyalists who thought that the path of duty lay in supporting their King. They at least had the courage of their convictions.

The autograph is the attest by Fanning of a copy of the will of Thomas Sharpe of Albany. It is dated 1773, when he was acting as secretary to Governor Tryon in New York.

William Hull (Class of 1772), Born, 1753; Died, 1825.

General Hull had a brilliant record as an officer in the American Revolution. It attracted the attention of Washington, who called him "an officer of great merit," and invited him to become an aide-de-camp, a post which he declined only because he felt it his duty to remain as Inspector in General Howe's division. His most famous exploit was the leading, under General

[5] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 109.

Wayne's orders, of the Massachusetts Light Infantry at the storming of Stony Point. After the Revolution he served as Lieutenant Colonel of the provisional "American Regiment," aided in the suppression of Shays' Rebellion, and was United States Commissioner to treat with the Indians, and with the British in Canada, while from 1805 to 1814 he was Governor of the Territory of Michigan. All of these offices he held with honor to himself and with profit to his country. In the War of 1812, although approaching his seventieth birthday, he was appointed a Brigadier General with command of the frontier forces in what was then the Northwest. Here, inadequately supported by the government, and in a desperate situation, he surrendered his troops, so as to save the lives of many women and other non-combatants under his command from massacre. For this he was tried by court-martial and condemned to be shot, but the President remitted the sentence on the ground of his age and revolutionary services. Impartial historians of today believe that Hull was sacrificed as a scapegoat to save from disgrace the "face" of an inefficient military administration. Professor McMaster says, "He was a hardly used man. Not he, but Madison, Eustis and Dearborn were to blame."[6] Whatever the final judgment may be of this Detroit incident, there is no doubt in the mind of anyone who has read the large volume entitled the *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General William Hull*, as to the nobility of his character and his patriotism.

General Hull, whose miniature, painted by Trumbull in 1792, is in the School of the Fine Arts, always retained his interest in Yale, and was much disappointed when his nephew and adopted son, Captain Isaac Hull, one of the heroes of the American navy, took to the sea, without the advantages of an education at the College.

The letter is a patriotic one written by Major Hull from "Camp at Valley Forge" in May, 1778. It is addressed to Andrew Adams (B.A. 1760), who was at this time a member of the Continental Congress from Connecticut, and as such signed the Articles of Confederation, which were later superseded by the Constitution of the United States. The "Joyfull Europian News" which put Hull in such a happy frame of mind was the treaty with France signed on February 6 by Benjamin Franklin. This treaty, and the fact that "the Enemy are preparing to leave Philadelphia," made the writer too optimistic. The war, which was to continue four years longer, seemed to him practically over. "It must be a pleasing Reflection to all who have borne a part in this arduous Contest, to consider that they have been in some Measure instrumental in rescuing a great Continent from slavish Misery, and establishing its Happiness on the broad Basis of Freedom & Independence. . . . ."

[6] McMaster, *History of the United States*, Vol. III, p. 559.

BENJAMIN TALLMADGE (Class of 1773), Born, 1754; Died, 1835.

The Class of 1773 was full of patriots—conspicuous among them being Captains Nathan Hale (q.v.) and James Hillhouse, Major Wyllys (q.v.), and Colonel Tallmadge. The last named served with distinction throughout the seven long years of the Revolutionary struggle. The Continental Congress, in 1780, passed a special resolution in appreciation of the "wisdom and great gallantry" which he showed in "the enterprise against Fort St. George, on Long Island." His most important work was in directing the secret service.[7] He played a large part in the capture of André, and was in charge of that unfortunate officer after his capture. Washington's estimate of his ability is shown by letters during the war, and by the fact that he recommended him for the command of the Cavalry Corps, which it was proposed to attach to the provisional army in 1798.[8] In later life he served with credit for sixteen years in Congress.

The letter is one of exceptional interest. It deals with the period of anarchy in the spring and early summer of 1783, and refers especially to the invasion of Philadelphia by a body of eighty soldiers who demanded their pay of Congress at the point of the bayonet. It is dated Fishkill, June 29, 1783, and is addressed to his fellow Yalensian, Peter Colt (B.A. 1764), who held the post of Deputy Commissary General of Purchases for the Eastern Department, which included all the territory east of the Hudson River. "The late disturbances in Philad^{a}. seem to engross all Conversation & Companies, & what seems remarkable the Comm^{r}. in Chief said yesterday that he had heard nothing from Congress since Sunday last. It is beyond a doubt that some great Folks are at the bottom of the business— . . . . We hear nothing of the definitive Treaty yet. The Gen^{l}. has a late letter from the Marquis which mentions the probability of its being soon signed as the British Ministry are now forward." The preliminary treaty of peace with England had already been signed but the final one was still to be postponed two months—until September 3, 1783.[9]

JOHN PALSGRAVE WYLLYS (Class of 1773), Born, 1754; Died, 1790.

Wyllys graduated from Yale with the Latin Salutatory Oration. He was one of three Yale brothers of a well-known Connecticut family to see service in the Revolution. He was in many important engagements of the

[7] Johnston, *Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge*, p. 141.
[8] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, pp. 126, 127.
[9] The University Library has a number of letters written by Tallmadge to Hon. Tappan Reeve, the founder of the Litchfield Law School.

war from the siege of Boston to that of Yorktown, the regiment which he commanded at the latter place having the post of honor in the successful attack on the night of October 14. He was for most of the time an officer in Colonel Webb's regiment, of which the major, surgeon, five out of eight captains, and some lieutenants were Yale men.[10] After the war Wyllys was appointed Senior Major in the First American Regiment, the nucleus of the present army of the United States, and died while bravely leading his men in a desperate conflict with the Indians, near the present site of Fort Wayne, Indiana. He was the first in the long line of officers of the regular army thus to seal his career.[11] He was a man of culture, character, and exalted patriotism.

The autograph is the original inspection return of the Third Connecticut Regiment for April 25, 1782, signed by Wyllys as Major Commanding.

James Gadsden (Class of 1806), Born, 1788; Died, 1858.

The "Gadsden Treaty" with Mexico and the "Gadsden Purchase" are familiar terms to every American schoolboy, but they generally know nothing of the soldier and diplomat after whom they are named. He joined the United States Army soon after graduation, and served with distinction as an officer of the Engineer Corps in the War of 1812. After the peace he became General Jackson's aide, seeing active service in the campaign against the Seminoles, and acting as Inspector General of the southern division. He withdrew from the army in 1822, when, for political reasons, the Senate refused to confirm his appointment as Adjutant General. He then became a Florida planter. Colonel Gadsden's main life work was in the army, but his popular reputation is based on his treaty with the Seminole Indians in 1823, and on his service as Minister to Mexico from 1853 to 1856. Although some details were adjusted by his successor, it was mainly due to his negotiations that the tract of about twenty million acres, constituting the southern part of the present states of Arizona and New Mexico, was added to the United States.

A letter written in 1829, to President Jackson, urging the appointment of a friend as purser in the navy is added. "I take this occasion my Dear General to say to you, that after an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Slocum, I can with confidence state that I know few men who would fill the office sought with more advantage to the Government, or more credit to himself—"

The Library has an excellent silhouette of Gadsden as an undergraduate. It is found in "Profiles of the Class that was admitted into Yale College September A. D. 1802."

[10] Johnston, *Yale in the American Revolution*, p. 66.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

RANDALL LEE GIBSON (Class of 1853), Born, 1832; Died, 1892.

Senator Gibson was a good example of the best traditions of the South. After leaving college, where he held a conspicuous place in undergraduate social and scholastic life and was Class Orator at graduation, he went abroad for three years of travel and study. He then became a planter in Louisiana, and on the opening of the Civil War enlisted as a private. He was soon elected Captain of the First Regiment of Louisiana Artillery, and was steadily promoted through the grades of Colonel and Brigadier General, until he became, in 1864, a Major General, having command of a division during the last campaign of the war. Never absent from active duty, he distinguished himself both for bravery and skill at Shiloh, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, and other battles—leaving the reputation of being an ideal officer. After the war he became a lawyer in New Orleans. He was a member of Congress from 1875 to 1883, when he was elected to the United States Senate. Here he remained until his death. He was a broad-minded statesman, and the leader in the movement for the improvement of the Mississippi River. He was the adviser of Mr. Paul Tulane in the establishment of Tulane University, and was the first President of its Board of Administrators.

The autograph note is a brief one to his Yale Class Secretary regarding the whereabouts of a missing member.

JAMES CLAY RICE (Class of 1854), Born, 1829; Died, 1864.

Rice worked his way through college. His principal undergraduate honor was winning a Townsend Premium. After teaching school he took up the practice of law. He enlisted as a private in the Union Army, rising rapidly until he became Colonel of the 44th New York Regiment, which he led in many battles, including Yorktown, Manassas, and Chancellorsville. At Gettysburg he commanded a brigade.

It was his brigade, then the Third brigade of the First division of the Fifth corps, which held the extreme left of the line on Thursday, the second day of the battle, and which successfully resisted the repeated and desperate onsets of the enemy. For three hours in that battle Colonel Rice fought incessantly, without receiving a single order from any superior officer; sending for, receiving and disposing of reinforcements with such cool skill and judgment that at the close of the day's fight he had cleared his front of the enemy and extended and advanced his line so as to cover Round-Top Mountain, which rendered it secure against any flanking movement. For this great service, as well as a reward for former gallant deeds, General Meade, supported by the previous earnest recommendations of

Generals Hooker, Porter and Butterfield, had him appointed Brigadier General, in which position he participated in the advance upon Mine Run, passed through the perils of the Wilderness, and met his death amidst the carnage on the banks of the Po.[12]

His last words were spoken in the field hospital. They were, "Turn my face to the enemy." He was a man of sterling Christian character and faith, whose every promotion was deserved.

The autograph letter, written from Albany, in November, 1862, is signed "James C. Rice Col. Coma'dg 44th N. Y. V." It is addressed to the commander of Company A, New York Battery, and recommends for promotion Private Montague, "one of the most faithful, and intelligent soldiers in the Regiment."

[12] *New York Evening Post,* May 12, 1864, quoted in *Yale Obituary Record,* for 1864, p. 140.

CHAPTER X

HISTORICAL FACTORS OF INFLUENCE AT YALE

A study of the biographies in these volumes will show that in addition to the general atmosphere of the place, the main definite factors of the University's influence have been study, religion, inspiring teachers, and association with men. These probably continue today to be the elements of greatest significance in the undergraduate careers of most Yalensians.

INFLUENCE OF STUDY

Study stands clearly first. The word is used rather broadly as including scholarship and serious reading—the latter being often one of the main factors in a man's development. For instance, it was the careful reading as an undergraduate of Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* that was the turning point in Horace Bushnell's intellectual life, just as a century earlier Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* produced its epoch-making effect on Jonathan Edwards. Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* played a similar, although somewhat smaller, rôle in the life of Samuel Johnson.

Of the seventy-nine eminent Yalensians memorialized, forty-three might have secured election to Phi Beta Kappa had their ranking been sufficiently good—this number having been members of the Academical Department for the necessary time after the society's foundation, in 1780. Now this oldest of existing college institutions has always emphasized intellectual ability, and for over three-quarters of a century[1] has been on a scholarship basis. In the early years the cultivation of friendship was a much more important factor in its

[1] Baldwin, *Annals of Yale College,* published in 1831, refers to its membership being bestowed "as a reward of good scholarship and character," p. 234. The society was first organized at William and Mary, in 1776.

life than later, but the motto of its key—the Greek words for Philosophy the Guide of Life, the emphasis from the first on literary exercises, the custom of having a graduate, and generally a member of the Faculty, as President, and the question asked in the original form of initiation into the society, "Will you approve yourselves worthy members of it by encouraging Friendship, Morality and Science?"[2] all show that the intellectual element was prominent in its purpose from early days. Professor Packard sums up the matter by saying that "during all or nearly all of its existence . . . . its members were selected largely on the ground of excellence in scholarship."[3] It therefore supplies a fairly good objective test of the extent to which eminent Yale men have distinguished themselves in college as students. We find thirty-four members on the Society's list out of our possible forty-three eligibles, seventy-nine per cent,[4] indicating the close connection between scholarship and later distinction. Almost the same proportion holds good for the names on the supplementary lists; so that over three-fourths of the deceased graduates of eminence to whom the honor was open have secured the coveted key. The society has taken at different periods slightly varying proportions of classes into its membership, but, except during the first few years, never over one-third. For instance: in 1800, twelve out of thirty-six; in 1825, twenty-seven out of seventy-one; and in 1850, twenty-four out of eighty. In other words, although only thirty-three per cent of collegiate alumni of the period discussed may be considered to have reached a high standard of undergraduate scholarship, over twice this proportion—seventy-nine per cent—of the most eminent men attained it. The successful performance of collegiate duties may therefore be considered to have been a marked characteristic of the great majority of our most representative Yale men, and was doubtless a prime factor in their development.

[2] MS. Constitution of Phi Beta Kappa, p. 20.

[3] Kingsley, *Yale College*, Vol. I, p. 327.

[4] The names excluded from consideration, as either non-academical students or men who left college too early for election, are Messrs. Cooper, Benjamin, Tilden, J. H. Trumbull, S. W. Johnson, Stedman, Harris, King, Harper.

The influence of scholarship on future careers, during the past century and a quarter in which exact records are available, appears especially marked in education, science, and jurisprudence—every man who has attained conspicuous eminence in these fields in the period named having been distinguished for a high record in his college studies, while religious leaders and scholars stand only slightly behind, each having only one eligible name not on the rolls of Phi Beta Kappa. Literature shows up poorly. The artistic, poetic temperament is generally more interested in broad but desultory reading than in the requirements of the old fixed curriculum. Following the example of Shelley and of other great names in the literary annals of England, most of Yale's men of letters have not been accurate scholars as undergraduates.

Unfortunately, the early scholastic records of the College are incomplete, but from what we know of the careers of individuals there is every reason to believe that the conditions found to exist since the establishment of Phi Beta Kappa, in 1780, held good prior to that date. Jonathan Edwards (1720),[5] Livingston (1741), Brainerd (1743), Stiles (1746), Dwight (1769), and Hale (1773) all seem to have been Valedictorians or Salutatorians of their respective classes in this earlier period, or were given the Cliosophic Oration, then the most honorable of Commencement "parts," except Brainerd, who ranked as first scholar at the time of his dismissal. Chancellor Kent (1781), Fisher (1813), Woolsey (1820), F. Barnard (1828), Bristed (1839), and James Hadley (1842) continued this tradition later, while among the living, Presidents Dwight (1849), Hadley (1876), and Taft (1878)—all first or second scholars of their class—show that the old connection between high collegiate rank and later success is being maintained.

The gaps in the early records can be partially filled by the list of recipients of Berkeley Scholarships. These have been awarded

[5] In this and the following chapter, dates in parentheses represent the college class unless otherwise indicated.

since 1733 to the best classical scholar in every Senior class. Wheelock (1733), Lyman (1738), W. S. Johnson (1744), Deane (1758), Trumbull (1767), and Baldwin (1772) were elected to this honorable foundation, in addition to Dwight (1769) already mentioned above. As Johnson (1714) and Humphreys (1771) were also chosen to the tutorship[6] because of their excellent record as students, we have fourteen out of twenty-seven specially memorialized Yalensians, prior to Phi Beta Kappa's establishment, who were distinguished as scholars. These facts show, it is believed conclusively, that in Yale's history there has been an intimate relationship between intellectual activity in college and eminence in after life.

INFLUENCE OF RELIGION

The field of religion is one in which statistics are apt to be misleading, but where individual conviction and experience are of prime importance. As shown elsewhere in discussing the atmosphere of Yale, religious faith has always been a marked characteristic of the University. Here we are to consider it briefly as a concrete and helpful factor in the lives of representative undergraduates, rather than as a part of a general influence. In this connection some of the biographies are of special significance. It was as a Yale student that Jonathan Edwards (1720) became conscious of "an inward sweet delight in God,"[7] and that Samuel Hopkins (1741), influenced by the preaching of Edwards, Whitefield, and Tennent, resolved to be a student of theology, having experienced "a sense of the being and presence of God" as never before. Young David Brainerd's (1743) wonderful consecration of himself to the cause of missions, under Whitefield's preaching, and Peter Parker's (1831) epoch-making

[6] About one-third of "Eminent Yale Men" have served at some time as college tutors.

[7] He also passed through great spiritual struggles. "Indeed I was at times very uneasy, especially towards the latter part of my time at college; when it pleased God, to seize me with the pleurisy; in which he brought me nigh to the grave, and shook me over the pit of hell. . . . . My concern now wrought more by inward struggles and conflicts, and self-reflections. I made seeking my salvation the main business of my life." Edwards, *A Narrative of Many Surprising Conversions* (1832 Edition), p. 366.

resolve to begin in China the work of medical missions were similarly made when pursuing their studies in New Haven. The former is the classic American illustration of the religious activity of an undergraduate devoted to what is known as "personal work." He not only greatly helped Samuel Hopkins and others among his Yale contemporaries, but his example has ever since been an inspiring memory in college life. Similarly, Benjamin Silliman's (1796) joining the College Church when a popular young tutor, in the revival of 1802, made a profound impression, and may be taken as typical of the influence of "the Church of Christ in Yale College," with which many eminent Yalensians have united in their student days. The history of these and other religious forces at the University has been well traced in a volume published at the Bicentennial, entitled *Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale.* Suffice it to add here that religion was never a stronger or more helpful factor on the Campus than at present, and that it is now characterized by the same earnestness that we have seen in such biographies as those of Brainerd or Peter Parker, but without the excesses of the earlier period.

INFLUENCE OF INSPIRING TEACHERS

President Garfield's definition of the vital factor of his education—sitting at one end of a log with President Mark Hopkins at the other—has much significance. It was the glory of the old New England College that the student came into close contact with a few inspiring men—men who influenced youth both by their teachings and by their ideals. This influence of the great teacher may be seen on its subjective and objective sides in Yale history. The apostolic succession is clearly marked during a century and a half. Its roots are found earlier in the work of Tutor William Smith (1719), Rector Williams, and President Clap; but the line of the most eminent Yale teachers, the men who combined transmitting knowledge with a real enthusiasm for scholarship and service, began with Tutor,

later President, Dwight (1769), and was continued by James Gould (1791), Benjamin Silliman (1796), Moses Stuart (1799), Nathaniel Taylor (1807), Sumner (1863), and Harper (Ph.D. 1875). These seven men are among the most broadly influential teachers the country has known, while Woolsey (1820), Dana (1833), and Hadley (1842) were conspicuous for the impression they made on students of real promise.

It is hard to overestimate the stimulating effect which the first President Dwight had on the minds and wills of most of the eleven hundred graduates who took their degrees under him. This comes out in almost every representative Yale biography of the period, especially in the lives of such widely different men as the preacher Beecher (1797), the scientist Silliman (1796), the theologian Taylor (1807), the inventor Morse (1810), the scholar Stuart (1799), and the statesman Calhoun (1804). The power of Silliman's teaching was almost equally marked, and lasted for half a century. It showed itself both by admiration for the man's character and ability, and by enthusiastic consecration to the cause of science. The careers of men like Hitchcock (1825-1826) and Dana (1833) were largely molded by it. In a different field, as a stimulating instructor in theology, Taylor (1807) has been unexcelled in America, as were Stuart (1799) and Harper (1875) in creating a scholarly interest in Biblical studies. Their biographies show the extraordinary range of their influence as teachers. Sumner (1863), although he made few disciples of his specific economic and political theories, had a remarkable influence as an awakening intellectual and moral force on generations of Yale undergraduates.

When we turn from the subjective to the objective side, the record is similar. Dwight's (1769) whole career was changed by the earnest words of one of his teachers. Morse's (1810) work as an inventor was largely determined by the instruction of three of his Yale professors. Many of America's leading philologists got their

life inspiration in the third quarter of the nineteenth century under the instruction of that remarkable trio of profound scholars—Professors Whitney, Woolsey, and Hadley. These are only typical cases that stand for the influence of inspiring teaching on the lives of eminent Yalensians.

INFLUENCE OF ASSOCIATION WITH MEN

The hearty, democratic life of the Campus has always been a potent educational factor at New Haven. It has been, indeed, so attractive, and its advantages in broadening a man's horizon, and in giving him ease in his dealings with men of different types and kinds, have been so obvious that there has been danger lest it appear to undergraduates to be the main end of the academic course. The authorities, supported by the best undergraduate sentiment, have always recognized intellectual and moral discipline and the acquirement of knowledge as both the means and end of education, but they have granted to what is called "college life" an important subordinate place. They have rightly claimed that a Yale degree[8] meant something more than passing a given test, and so, in contrast with many representative universities, have uniformly refused diplomas for non-resident or occasional summer work. They have considered that the Bachelor of Arts degree in particular stood not only for doing satisfactorily certain prescribed intellectual tasks, but for doing them in the vivifying and liberalizing atmosphere of a regular student community, with its wealth of associations, traditions, and friendships. All eminent Yalensians have at least recognized the value of this human training, while many of them have identified themselves in a marked way with the broad life of the student community, and have gained noticeably from its friendships. Such were Nathan Hale (1773), who entered heartily into every form of college activity—scholastic, literary, social, athletic; Nathaniel P. Willis (1827), whose

[8] The M.A. degree is only an apparent exception, as it has never been given for non-resident work except to previous graduates of the College, and now requires resident study.

biographer says that college life left a deeper impression upon him than upon any other American man of letters; William M. Evarts (1837), one of the founders of the "Lit.," a high scholar, and active in undergraduate social organizations; Josiah Dwight Whitney (1839), whose sketch shows his interest in all phases of Campus life, and Gilman (1852) and Sumner (1863), typical Yale undergraduate leaders of the last generation.

Some distinguished alumni were inconspicuous as undergraduates for anything but scholarship. This was true, for instance, of Gibbs (1858). He represents an exception. Most have entered in a whole-souled way into the life and activities of the "Fence," the dormitories, the debating societies, and various literary, athletic, and social clubs, while all have recognized that association with men could be developed at its best " 'neath the Elms" of Yale.

Many other influences may be traced. With Winthrop (1848) it was devotion to a noble girl, whom he did not know, that was the main factor in enabling him to make the most out of his Yale years. With Bacon (1820) it was one serious talk with a classmate about Commencement time that turned the tide. With Frederick Barnard (1828) and others, the debating society seems to have been as great a help in development as anything else, while with Woolsey (1820), a small literary club was, next to study, the thing which helped him most. And so the influences vary from man to man, and from age to age; but those which have proven most consistently helpful in the lives of eminent Yalensians are clearly the ones outlined above: study, religion, inspiring teachers, and association with men. If another were to be added it would be debating. Linonia and Brothers, the large literary societies, were open to all, and, for about a century, helped to sharpen wits, to develop convictions on important problems, and to fit men for participation in public life. They did for America what the Oxford Union has done for England, and they have left no adequate substitute.

CHAPTER XI

COMMON CHARACTERISTICS OF MOST EMINENT YALE MEN

Let it be said at the outset that it is impossible to find any group of characteristics common to all Yale men of distinction. Yet every historical university has a personality, and leaves its impress upon its students. This is specially marked in the undergraduate course where students are in residence together for several successive years, enjoying a common life, and handing down the college traditions from one generation to another. It is true of families living in an ancestral home, of clearly differentiated communities, as well as of religious and social organizations, so it is natural that it should hold good of a university which shares many of the characteristics of such institutions, in addition to being primarily a place of intellectual training. Its atmosphere is one of its most important educational assets, but this is nothing else than the associations and ideals handed down by officers and students living in the same place, with kindred purposes, through the course of the years. These bring up the past, influencing youth unconsciously by the ideals of those who have gone before. Many a man in a cathedral of the Old World has been enveloped by a feeling that the place has been consecrated by the prayers of thousands of men and women during several centuries. This is a help to worship, just as the living in a community where strong men have wrought unconsciously stimulates young men to imitate their example. Ivy-grown walls, ancient customs, and long-existing organizations, all have their effect in transmitting what earlier generations have achieved.

This is one of the most precious gifts of an ancient university. Anyone who has lived as a student at Oxford knows the reality of the power, the spell of the place, with its traditions of classical culture, idealism, and conservatism. So it is at Harvard, where the atmosphere has been for generations one of independence, individualism, criticism, liberalism, and culture, forming well-defined traditions and ideals. These differ considerably from those at Yale, but only prejudice could deny that their contributions to American education are of vital importance. Both the spirit of Harvard and the spirit of Yale have their advantages and limitations. Each of them makes some impress on every student's point of view, occasionally by reaction, but generally by direct influence.

What then is the Yale ideal which has been generally reproduced by our most representative graduates? The main definite factors of undergraduate influence—scholarship, religion, inspiring teachers, and association with men—have been dealt with elsewhere. Here we are concerned with the atmosphere of the place which has had its effect on the general attitude of mind of eminent graduates. The Yale ideal, historically considered, has four main elements which deserve separate consideration. It is a combination of them, corresponding in a rough, unscientific way to certain attributes of personality, or perhaps better, to four activities of the individual. Socially it expresses itself in democracy, spiritually in faith, intellectually in conservatism, and morally in constructive activity.

DEMOCRACY

Probably in the public mind democracy is the most striking trait of the University and of its men. It manifests itself in many forms. The poor man who works his way through college is nowhere more respected. "A fair field and no favor" for the so-called "honors" of undergraduate life are generally assured. The student body maintains democracy through its University mass meetings—an almost complete survival of the old-time New England town meetings, its

Senior Councils, the influence of college journalism—especially as shown by the *Yale News,* and the popular election of various officers, including even religious leaders—the Class Deacons, and literary leaders—the editors of the *Yale Literary Magazine.* Even the Senior societies seem to leave most of the selections of members to the student community, only sparingly using their veto against those whom their mates have elected to what are believed to be the most responsible college positions.

In the matter of University organization, the same tendency towards democracy is exhibited. Yale was the first of the important privately endowed American universities to allow the graduates the right of suffrage for the election of members of the highest governing body, and it is one of the few institutions of the first rank in the United States to retain a democratic organization of all the faculties, with the privilege, subject only to the approval of the President and Fellows, to select their own associates, as well as Deans. The influence of this Yale custom in making for the esprit de corps, peace, and self-respect of the teaching force is enormous.

These student and Faculty traditions go back to the eighteenth century, and have had a powerful influence. Their roots are in Connecticut's early political, social, and religious history. The late Professor Johnston, of Princeton, claimed that Hooker's sermon in Hartford, May 31, 1638, was potentially "the most important profession of political faith in our history." Its foremost doctrine is "That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people . . . . because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons chosen and more ready to yield obedience."[1] This doctrine, developed the following year into the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut," and largely through them into the political life of America, had a profound effect upon the Colony where it was fostered, and consequently upon the spirit of its University. An equally important and more underlying democratic

[1] Johnston, *Connecticut,* in American Commonwealth Series, pp. 71-73.

influence was exerted by the Congregational polity, which stood for the principle of self-government in ecclesiastical affairs. The Congregationalists had the only ministers in Connecticut when Yale was founded. They were the dominant forces in the development of the College during its first century, while in the second century their leadership in home missionary work in the settlement of the West laid the foundations for Yale's strong western constituency, which has done much to bring new vigor and respect for a man's individual worth into the undergraduate life of recent times. No eastern university has gained so much from the reflex influence of the democratic West as Yale, at least in so far as student spirit is concerned. The conditions of rural New England life also favored democracy. There were leading families who had great prestige, but there was no landed aristocracy as in Virginia or New York, and no large dominant social center as in Massachusetts. The Connecticut farm, the typical home of the early graduate, fostered simple standards of life and thought,[2] and sent hundreds of its sturdy boys to the College. It is significant that Yale gave up the social grading of graduates in its published lists in 1767, six years before her rival in Cambridge, and that she has always been considered a place where the poor man of inconspicuous family has unusual opportunities for the highest social recognition.

These considerations may not adequately explain past and present conditions, but they make it clear that democracy has played a prominent part as one side of the college ideal, and that it has powerfully molded graduate sentiment. It has been a factor in the services rendered by the University in the two great American crises—the Revolution and the Civil War, and it has been characteristic of almost all eminent Yalensians. Of the seventy-nine names

[2] The following incident quoted by Professor Farrand emphasizes these same conditions: "A few months later the French chargé d'affaires in a report to his government spoke of Ellsworth and Sherman as typical of Connecticut, and went on to say: 'The people of this state generally have a national character not commonly found in other parts of the country. They come nearer to republican simplicity: without being rich they are all in easy circumstances.'" Farrand, *Framing of the Constitution*, p. 35.

chosen for biographies by as objective tests as possible, most have been genuine and whole-souled exponents of democracy. Not one has been a snob, and only two[3] showed a lack of sympathy with republican institutions. What is of more significance, their greatest work has been in the struggle for independence, in the spread of education and religion, and in public life—all of vital importance to a stable republican government. They have generally been men who showed their convictions regarding democracy by their manner of life and their attitude towards others. Horace Bushnell (1827), Henry Barnard (1830), Noah Webster (1778), and Manasseh Cutler (1765) are characteristic in this respect of the alumni. It is likewise noticeable that many of our eminent scientists have given much of their time to the common good through government work. Yale's charter, with its emphasis on training for public service, has thus had its fulfilment in an even broader way than the founders planned.

FAITH

A second characteristic of eminent Yalensians has been and is their faith. This expresses itself in many ways. The typical graduate has the believing attitude of mind. He has faith in God, in his country, in his University, in his fellow men. A Yale atheist, or a Yale cynic, or a Yale pessimist, is rarely found. Faith is of the essence of the spirit of the place. Its earliest and most characteristic manifestation is in the sphere of religion. The first words of the original charter, obtained in 1701, put this in the foreground, where it has ever remained: "Whereas several well disposed, and Publick spirited Persons of their Sincere Regard to & Zeal for upholding & Propogating of the Christian Religion . . . ." etc. The successors of these "Publick spirited Persons"—the life members of the Yale Corporation—have always included a majority of ministers of the Gospel, Corporation meetings have always been opened with prayer,

[3] Samuel Seabury and William Smith were both loyalists.

the corporate Communion service has been held regularly at the College, which has the most influential and next to oldest undenominational University department of Divinity in America. The Student Christian Association is acknowledged to be one of the strongest in the world, while the Yale brotherhood has been the first among American universities to found and support a Christian college in the mission field. These are merely representative facts. They are thoroughly reflected in the spiritual attitude of our graduates. One-third of the biographies given in these volumes are of men who were ordained ministers, or regularly licensed to preach. The overwhelming majority is made up of earnest Christians regularly identified with some branch of the Church. There is not a professed atheist among them, and although many were not orthodox according to narrow dogmatic standards, those with pronounced agnostic tendencies may be counted on the fingers of one hand. This is worthy of remark in view of the unusually large number of nineteenth century scientists included. Among the greatest in every field were men like Jonathan Edwards (1720), President Woolsey (1820), Samuel F. B. Morse (1810), Benjamin Silliman (1796), and Chief Justice Waite (1837), who were well known for their religious earnestness.

The faith characteristic of Yale as indicated above is broader than the scope of religion, and affects a man's whole outlook on life. It is just as essential in making a man a good patriot, or an educational leader in a democracy, as it is in developing a prophetic preacher. It involves the implication that there are better days ahead for humanity, and that they are worth working for. The roots of this faith which makes a man cheer heartily and work enthusiastically "For God, for Country and for Yale," find their religious beginnings in old New England, but these were broadened and chastened by the humanitarianism which followed the Revolution, as indicated in the biographies of Dwight (1769), the elder Morse (1783), and the elder Evarts (1802). They have been growing as the University has

become more and more a national institution. It is hard for a man today in the college atmosphere, with its inherited traditions of religion and of democracy, reënforced by the never ending stream of manly lads from Christian homes "working their way through," not to have faith in God and man.

CONSERVATISM

It is undoubtedly true, whether a trait to be admired or not, that the intellectual note of Yale is conservatism rather than radicalism. There is not and never has been anything hidebound or reactionary in the University's attitude, but its educational policy has been marked by caution, by an unwillingness to make extreme and untried experiments in methods of instruction. Yale has had enough vision to see the opportunity in new departments where she has been a pioneer, such as in the Schools of Fine Arts, Science, and Forestry, and in postgraduate courses, but her methods have generally been conservative. Harvard did invaluable work with her experiments in such matters as the elective system and the case method of legal instruction. Yale profited by these, adopting gradually what she believed to be good in them, but never going in for sudden and excessive changes from the most approved methods of the past. When, a generation ago, the ideal of the University was gradually evolved in America, some institutions developed their professional, graduate, or scientific departments so eagerly and rapidly that the old-time four years' academic course suffered. In a word, the University was developed at the expense of the College. At Yale the advance was, in some respects, slower, but the College, with its old-time curriculum of general culture studies, modified to meet contemporary needs, was never sacrificed. It remained the main nucleus of the larger institution. In all of these typical cases the University has shown its conservative tendency. It has always been for progress, but progress perhaps slowly, yet always surely, evolved without unnecessary wrenches with the past.

This attitude is reflected in undergraduate life today, and in the point of view of graduates. The Yale student body clings to an old custom with tenacity. It is always eager for "reforms," as the columns of the *News* every winter term show, but these are seldom iconoclastic. They are to be worked out gradually on the basis of existing institutions, and with the help of past experience.

This intellectual conservatism is characteristic of our most eminent alumni. They have had epoch-making ideas or theories, like those of Manasseh Cutler (1765), Samuel F. B. Morse (1810), and Willard Gibbs (1858), but they have been almost invariably well-balanced, judicious men favoring progress by evolution, rather than radicals striving to make the world over in a day. Even at the time of the American Revolution it was mainly for the inherited right of self-government that our Yale ancestors fought, and then only when liberty seemed impossible of attainment by peaceful means. The typical patriots and statesmen of the period—men like Nathan Hale (1773), David Humphreys (1771), William Livingston (1741), Oliver Wolcott (1747), and the others—were widely removed from the inflammatory radicalism of the French Revolution. They were in earnest for freedom, and strenuously opposed taxation without representation, but they generally reached their decisions as calmly as Hale met his fate.

The University's conservatism among its graduates has shown itself particularly in maintaining the connection between religion and education—the colleges scattered through the West owing more to Yale directly or indirectly in this respect than to any other factor. It has also been shown in the evolution of a liberal theology. Connecticut never sympathized with the revolutionary break to Unitarianism marked among the Congregational churches in Massachusetts in the early part of the nineteenth century. Many of its pastors and churches have come today to a point of view similar to that held by Channing, but it has been through a gradual development, without losing the vitality of the old faith. For this, wise Yale

leaders, passing on step by step from the theology of Edwards (1720) to that of Dwight (1769), and then on to Taylor (1807), Bushnell (1827), and Munger (1851), are mainly responsible. These are typical illustrations of the fact that the graduates in their several callings have manifested a liberal-conservative, rather than a radical, attitude of mind.

CONSTRUCTIVE ACTIVITY

Critics are important in every nation and for every age, but Yale has not been conspicuous for their production. The armchair could never be her symbol. Our graduates have been mainly men of action. Even the thinkers among them, like Jonathan Edwards (1720), Chancellor Kent (1781), Horace Bushnell (1827), Theodore Woolsey (1820), all turned their thought into vigorous activity. Thought for the mere sake of thought is an intellectual refinement little practiced among Yalensians. Similarly, our most representative scientists have been prominent for their public services. They have been leading spirits in founding the United States Geological Survey, and the Weather Bureau, and the Agricultural Experiment Stations. Or, like Silliman (1796), they have carried on a country-wide campaign for scientific education. Even the nearest to a recluse among them—Willard Gibbs (1858)—by his arduous work discovered laws upon which active modern industries, such as the steel business, have been built.

In religion, Yale's note has been a positive and constructive one. Her graduates have appeared at their best here. The building up of the New England theology, which gave the spiritual background to about one-third of the nation for about two-thirds of a century, was almost entirely their work. They were the leading historical factors in the early development of missionary activity in America, and they were conspicuous in transplanting the Episcopal Church and reconstructing it on an independent basis.

In education, Yale, through her graduates, has had to do with

laying the foundations of most of America's leading educational institutions, from the beginning of Princeton to Johns Hopkins and the University of Chicago, and including the starting of deaf mute instruction, and the nation-wide work of the United States Bureau of Education under Barnard (1830) and Harris (1858).

In scholarship, the standardizing of the English language in America, identified with the Yale names of Webster (1778), Worcester (1811), and Professor Whitney, and the building up of an intelligent understanding of the Oriental (especially Biblical) languages of the past, have been its most characteristic achievements.

In science, it has laid the foundations for the invaluable activities of American geologists, and of scientific agriculturists. Its men have ever been in close touch with the practical needs of the nation.

In invention, the University's contribution has been eminently constructive, with three of the most important modern aids to civilization and prosperity to its credit—the electric telegraph, the cotton-gin, the stone-breaker.

In statesmanship and jurisprudence, the part played by Yale men in signing the Declaration of Independence, in framing the United States Constitution, in providing for the government of the western territories, in bringing unity into our laws, and in advocating the principles of justice among men, has been described in such biographies as those of Oliver Wolcott (1747), William Samuel Johnson (1744), Pelatiah Webster (1746), Manasseh Cutler (1765), William M. Evarts (1837), and Chancellor Kent (1781).

These are merely typical. Similar conditions mark the University's contribution to literature and patriotism. The tendency to earnest, effective work, to constructive activity, to a positive, outgoing attitude towards life, marks most of Yale's graduates, both conspicuous and inconspicuous.

Such are four marks of the University's personality as developed during two centuries. They form the atmosphere in which the scholarly and intellectual life of Yale has been developed.

CHAPTER XII

HISTORIC UNIVERSITIES IN A DEMOCRACY[1]

One of the chief dangers in a democracy is a tendency among large sections of the population to overestimate the new and to believe that anything old must inevitably be antiquated. The writer has recently had two experiences which indicate that this tendency is apt to be followed in judging educational institutions. The American public seems to have little appreciation of the deeper significance of our long-established universities. It recognizes the importance of their regular work, but it has overlooked their indirect contributions to the nation as factors of historic continuity.

The first experience was with a prominent officer of a correspondence school. He spoke with just pride of its usefulness, and asked whether there was anything which Harvard or Yale could do for students which his institution could not accomplish in a shorter time. The writer mentioned in reply the influences derived from living for several years amid historic associations, and in an atmosphere of inherited culture and ideals. The only rejoinder was a shrug of the shoulders, and a statement to the effect that dollars must be substituted for traditions before the old universities could do their best work—which suggests the inquiry once made of a Harvard President: "How much would it take to reproduce this plant in my state?"

A business man was responsible for the second incident. He entered his son at a newly founded university, believing that the absence from it of any prominent social element would be conducive to democracy and morality, and that its very modernity would be

[1] This chapter is reprinted from the *Yale Review*, July, 1913.

a guarantee of educational efficiency. The boy was transferred at his own request, in the middle of his undergraduate course, to one of our oldest universities, to find to his father's surprise that two centuries of corporate life had given the place a background of character and scholarship which was stronger than the first institution had been able to evolve in its brief history. He discovered that student ideals which had in the course of generations become part and parcel of the "folkways" of the college were more valuable than all newly promulgated faculty edicts and regulations put together.

IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING HISTORIC CONTINUITY

These experiences may be taken to introduce the author's thesis that in a democracy, and particularly in a period of changing ideals, our ancient educational foundations have a special opportunity and responsibility. Their privilege is to serve as channels of transmission for what is noblest in the life of the nation. It is the purpose of this chapter to show that in this way they are of almost unique national significance, serving as strong links with the past, and helping to secure that continuity which is of special moment in our country. Society here is in a constant state of ebb and flow. The people are in most cases without that attachment to the ancestral home which gives even the mass of the European peasantry a certain steadying background. More rapid changes in wealth, in social position, in occupation, in place of abode, have probably occurred in the United States during the past half century than in any large civilized community in a time of domestic peace. The changes which Emancipation, European immigration, western settlement, and the prodigious material development of the country have brought about in cutting off tens of millions of people from the sobering ties of home and of recognized status, are little realized.

If these unusually mobile conditions of American life, and the need of evolving a higher civilization from the old, are granted, nothing is more necessary than that there should be some visible

and potent national institutions emphasizing historic continuity. The absence of a ruling house and of a recognized aristocracy, and the short terms of elective office, make this all the more necessary. No sooner have a President and a Cabinet secured a position of dignified influence than they are superseded.

LACK OF BONDS WITH THE PAST IN AMERICA

This is the more noticeable as there is no great center in which the past is summed up for the nation—as Athens does it for Greece, or Rome for Italy. We have no compulsory military service with the practically identical education for the youth of all sections which goes with it. We are thankful for this, but there can be no doubt that such training as seen in Prussia is highly influential in handing down national traditions. A couple of years of military duty, with the details of life and much of the framework of thought directed from the central government, makes it relatively easy to transmit the country's ideals from generation to generation. The American public school system does not entirely take its place, as its connections are mainly local. It is a vital part of the life of the community, but at most its traditions are only state-wide. In spite of annual meetings of teachers, and of a potentially powerful but poorly supported Bureau of Education in Washington, there is no national esprit de corps among our public schools such as there is in the army of France or of Italy.

Nor does present-day American journalism render any adequate service here. In the multiplicity of modern newspapers *The New York Tribune* has not been able to retain the predominent influence on public affairs that it had in the North in the days of the Civil War. And no other newspaper has arisen to take its place with anything like the acknowledged supremacy held for several generations in England by *The Times*. We have highly influential local papers but no one of them has a firmly established position as a national force of large proportions. In fact, for the moment, some of the

magazines seem to be doing more to influence the mind of the nation. Of these, *The Outlook,* with its half-century of well-established tradition, may be taken as an example of our contention that a background of honorable history is at least a potential asset for any public institution.

More powerful than journalism is English literature. Yet it hardly satisfies our desideratum. It is a force for unity and continuity in the country at large, but its most important parts—the King James Bible and Shakespeare—came from across the Atlantic. They are international rather than national in scope. No writer of our own soil has as yet expressed the genius of our people in a way to compare with Plato or Aristotle for Greece, Cicero for Rome, Goethe for Germany. We must believe that the greatest names in distinctively American literature are yet to appear.

A written constitution in a measure meets the need and yet only in a measure. It is not sufficiently living to be able to reflect the *Zeitgeist* at the same time that it reminds us of the past. But we should be thankful for it and for the Supreme Court, its interpreter, as these alone are in any large degree reliable forces of political continuity in America. They are the bulwarks of the federal government. To them we must continue to look if we would make sure that we do not ruthlessly break with our history. Liberty and law are equally necessary in a democracy, and these ancient cornerstones of our political system help support both. If respect for them were eliminated, the future would bring change but not progress.

When we turn to the field of religious life, we find similar conditions. The absence of an established church, as in England, is of special significance, for a great religious body with an inherited liturgy and ancient places of worship, always tends to prevent sudden transformations of opinion in religion, in ethics, and in the social order. We have no historic cathedrals, no St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey for centuries identified with the heroes of the nation. The Roman Catholic Church is a factor of continuity, and helpful as a

guardian of public order and of personal morality, especially in dealing with the masses of immigrants from Southern Europe. But it links them with their own past rather than with that of the United States. It has been outside of the main currents of Anglo-Saxon progress. Its emphasis is neither on freedom nor on democracy; so, unless it proves untrue to its own ideal, it will not satisfy the American people.

We still have Congregationalism, a small body numerically, but of large historic significance and a force for liberty and enlightenment. It is, however, only one of scores of religious bodies, no one of which has particularly gripped the modern mind. Our tendency towards extreme denominationalism, although working for strong local and ecclesiastical ties with the past, tends to prevent any one body from becoming national in the sense of adequately reproducing and transmitting the broader currents of our history. The New England town meeting, the application of the Congregational principle to political life, survives; but it is not a visible, tangible entity. It has largely fallen into disuse, and it is too occasional in its character to be considered as potent today in conserving what is best in colonial and early federal experience.

So we seek through the domain of religion, politics, journalism, literature, and civics, with substantial but disappointingly small results, for institutions which conserve our national achievements. Let us turn, then, to the field of education to find what contribution it can make to the maintenance of historic continuity. In the first place, we notice the almost complete absence of educational institutions (other than scientific bureaus) under the federal government. West Point and Annapolis, the only important exceptions, are fortunately situated, for both are connected with the history of the Revolutionary period, although their academies were not founded until much later. They are intimately identified with the Civil War and are noble memorials of its traditions. Their limitations from our standpoint are self-imposed. They train men only for two

specialized professions, and are therefore outside the main currents of our American life.

The field of secondary education yields even less. Our public schools are organically local. The government aids in certain ways, but we have not and never have had a federal system of education. Most American schools with a broad constituency are too modern to have become effective as guardians of a national tradition. There are only a few old foundations of more than local significance. Of these the Phillips academies at Andover and Exeter have the largest claims to consideration, but they cannot as yet compare with Rugby, Winchester, or Eton in their appeal to the popular imagination as institutions wrapped up with the country's history.

ADVANTAGES AND LIMITATIONS OF STATE UNIVERSITIES

Our search now requires a consideration of American universities, to see whether they can supply our special need. The experience of other countries would indicate that probably only a few of them can be truly representative of the higher life of the whole nation. In England, Oxford and Cambridge stand by themselves. They have had an effect upon the thought and ideals of Great Britain, over a long period, that is far deeper than that of any other modern institution of learning upon its own country. In France there are several excellent universities, but that of Paris alone broadly represents the nation. In Germany the habit of students migrating from one center to another so as to sit at the feet of more great masters than can be collected in a single place, has brought about a somewhat different situation. Yet the University of Berlin, at the capital of the empire, and with the unusually rich associations of a century's identification with great scholars, is the most representative institution.

There is a widespread feeling in America that a great university can be created anywhere in a year by adequate gifts of money. This

corresponds to the temper of those who seem to think that a completely reformed country can be brought about in a day by the passing of new laws. As a matter of fact, a collegiate foundation can only have its deepest effect after its character and ideals have become firmly established by a long period of corporate life. For the purpose of this study few American universities can meet the threefold test which could be successfully applied in England to Oxford and Cambridge—influence on the nation's history, breadth of constituency, and established standing in the public mind. In these respects the state universities are at a disadvantage, and this through no fault of their own. They have or will soon secure adequate financial support; but they have not the history, the organization, or the broad student representation to be most effective as national institutions. They supply for their own states the needed element of continuity. They have lived through the struggles of pioneer days and consequently have the background which in most cases gives them long-established local prestige. But until recently their outside influence has been small, except in the case of Michigan and of Virginia, which may well claim the right to be called universities of large historic significance. In some respects the example of Wisconsin, California, and other state foundations, as virile leaders of progressive public opinion in their communities, puts to shame most of their older eastern sisters. But a state university is fitted by its very constitution to serve its own commonwealth rather than the whole nation. Deriving its main support from taxation and legislative grants, rather than from endowments, and having to satisfy the taxpayer, it is apt to err in overemphasizing the value of immediate utility in education, just as its older rivals tend to underestimate it. There is no danger that the spirit of the enthusiastic supporter of the old classical course who thanked God that he had learned nothing practical in college, will ever dominate a state institution. The latter's officers find it hard to get adequate provision for those cultural studies on which national idealism must largely

depend. Their course of action must be unduly determined by the necessity of providing concrete results which will show the average voter that higher education "pays." Most of these universities, established in new communities in the latter half of the nineteenth century, with the help of the Morrill Land Grant to encourage "Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts," must almost inevitably strike a different note from Harvard, founded early in the seventeenth century for "the education of . . . . youth . . . . in knowledge and godliness," or from Yale, which received its charter half a century later for the purpose of fitting men for "Publick Employment both in Church and Civil State."

It is likely that the public educational system of our different commonwealths may some day be capped by a federal university at Washington, which would be free from the local limitations of the state institutions and have the advantage of historic surroundings; but for our purposes this possibility need not be considered. Such an institution does not exist today, and should it be created it would require several generations before its roots would be sufficiently deep in the life of the American people to make it a force of broad significance.

HISTORIC UNIVERSITIES AS FACTORS OF CONTINUITY

We are therefore driven back in our search to historic and endowed universities such as Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia. Harvard fairly maintains the position of leadership among our schools of learning that is naturally hers by right of age, while the first two universities are the only American institutions in any field which have been for over two centuries factors of national influence. They alone remain as conspicuous, visible symbols of that first century of New England Puritanism to which we are indebted for laying deep the foundations of religion and of democracy. They are enduring monuments of that respect for education which has

meant so much to all our commonwealths. Each institution has its strong individuality and hands down loyally its own interpretation, modified in the course of years, of the great purposes for which these shores were settled. Each stands prominently before the American people as a definite entity which reflects and helps to mold public opinion. They both carry, in organization and life, and in the careers of their graduates, the marks of every struggle through which the people of the country have passed. In their atmosphere every student should feel conscious of the great currents of our history, and should learn the lesson that the most lasting changes are those built upon experience. They have an advantage over their Continental neighbors and over many of the state universities, in that their dormitory provisions make the handing down of institutional traditions a less difficult matter. There is the same difference in this respect that there is between a day school and a boarding school. The latter has some disadvantages, but in it it is easier to maintain a good spirit when once gained, and harder to break a bad one, than in the former. So it is that residential universities and colleges, like those of New England, of New Jersey, and of Virginia, and especially those separated from the changing and complex life of great cities, are best adapted to transmit to the future a body of worthy ideals.

We can hardly overestimate the service rendered by our old collegiate foundations as links with the life of earlier generations. Harvard would not be Harvard but for her identification with the Adamses and the Lowells and with many leading American men of letters of the nineteenth century. Princeton would not be Princeton without the rich associations with Revolutionary struggles and the great name of President Madison. Columbia is justly proud of John Jay and of Alexander Hamilton; and Williams of President Garfield. At Yale it is the line of theologians beginning with Jonathan Edwards, and of scientists from Benjamin Silliman on, and the figures of Nathan Hale and of Chancellor Kent, that make the spirit of the place what it is. Most of these colleges are

inseparably linked with the Indian wars of the Colonies, with the Revolution and the Civil War, and especially with the men who laid the foundations of our government. They have always been centers of intelligent patriotism. President Witherspoon at Princeton and President Stiles at Yale were leaders of public opinion at the time of the Revolution, and well represented the spirit of the graduates and students.

The fact is that American collegiate history is full of romance and of thrillingly interesting occurrences of which more should be made. The founding of Dartmouth College in the wilderness by Eleazar Wheelock for the purpose of educating Indian youth; the association of Benjamin Franklin with the plan for the University of Pennsylvania, of Rufus Putnam and of Manasseh Cutler with that for Ohio University, of Thomas Jefferson with the creation of the University of Virginia, and of the two great men memorialized in the name of Washington and Lee University; the impressive commemorative exercises at Harvard and Yale at the Civil War's close, the former identified with the participation of Edward Everett, James Russell Lowell, and Phillips Brooks, the latter with that of William M. Evarts and Horace Bushnell; the invasion of New Haven by the British under General Tryon when good President Naphtali Daggett, musket in hand, showed his ardent patriotism; the setting up of the first printing press on this continent at Harvard College, and Washington's assuming command of the American troops under the shadow of her buildings; the temporary holding of Congress in old Nassau Hall; the beginning of the University of Georgia with Abraham Baldwin, one of the framers of our Constitution—these are facts taken almost at random indicating the close association of some of our long-established universities with the most pregnant events in American history. They have the associations necessary to make them factors in the maintenance of historical continuity for the whole country.

And surely everything which can be done to make our people

conscious of the best in the past is worth while. Mt. Vernon, calling to mind objectively the figure of the first President, the battle field of Gettysburg, where North and South can think with equal pride of the valor of a previous generation, Independence Hall in Philadelphia, and some of the Washington public buildings, are all helpful. They remind us of the wisdom and the courage of the men who have created these United States. But no one of these, except to some degree Mt. Vernon, lets us look behind the scenes. They show us the places where great men did great deeds rather than those where they received the inspiration and training which made these deeds possible. Truly to find the latter we should have to seek for hundreds of homes, of village schools, and of country churches, scattered throughout the states, and we should find most of them long since demolished. But the colleges and universities which many of these men attended, where the torch of learning and the passion for patriotism have always existed, still remain. Some of their buildings and campus trees, and many of their books, pictures, customs, and foundations, go back to colonial times. They are especially fortunate at Cambridge in the matter of old landmarks, as several dignified buildings still standing antedate the Revolution. Alumni sentiment averted the destruction of Connecticut Hall at New Haven, and may still preserve, through removal to another site, the beautiful old library, replete with memories of the decades preceding the Civil War.

OPPORTUNITIES TO LINK LONG-ESTABLISHED UNIVERSITIES WITH NATIONAL HISTORY

But our historic universities have not half appreciated their birthright. Harvard has made the best beginning. Its Memorial Society interests itself in marking the rooms of eminent Harvardians, and in commemorating places of interest in and about the "Yard." Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Brown, Dartmouth, and some other colleges, have valuable collections of portraits of graduates and

benefactors, supplemented at New Haven by the important Revolutionary paintings by John Trumbull, and at Providence by the John Carter Brown Americana. Occasionally the anniversary of a founder or of a distinguished graduate is commemorated, such as the annual service in Cambridge in memory of John Harvard, or the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jonathan Edwards, which was suitably marked at Yale. More should be made of such events so as to interest students in the worthies of the past and to fit them to transmit to posterity its highest ideals. Sibley, Dexter, and others have preserved the historic and biographic materials connected with over two centuries of life at our most ancient seats of learning. Their books afford a mine of information for future scholars in many fields. But nothing adequate has been done to make the rank and file of students aware of their rich inheritance. The possibilities for further development are almost limitless. By tablets and other forms of memorials, the heroism and wisdom of former collegians should be kept visibly before the student body. There need be no less honor paid to benefactors but there should be more paid to the men whose books and deeds have helped to create the nation. Why should not a "bidding prayer" call to mind distinguished teachers and graduates? Why not have annual commemorative exercises, when the history and achievements of the University are duly recorded? Why not develop college literature—historical, biographic, descriptive, romantic, poetic—to rival on this side of the ocean, at least in quality, that noble collection of works—scores in number—which are "in praise of Oxford"? Why not institute courses on the institution's life and its contacts with and influence upon the main currents of our history? Why should we not lay more emphasis in the academic year on patriotic days, Washington's Birthday, Lincoln's Birthday, Memorial Day, with appropriate references to the connection of the University with the movements for which these men and events stood? And incidentally might we not have a course in American history as an absolute requirement for admission to every college?—a strange lack

today, as it seems to the writer, but one frequently found. In a word, why should not patriotism be made a more conscious part of higher education with special reference to the identification of the University and its sons with the development of these United States?

A half-century ago there was in full sway at Yale an annual event known as the "Statement of Facts." It degenerated, like most good customs, but it always retained as its nucleus a kind of glorification of the ablest and best Yale men. It was a student event, not a Faculty one—hence it was all the more effective. The orator from Linonia told the Freshmen of the achievements of former members of his society. Chancellor Kent, Nathan Hale, John C. Calhoun, William M. Evarts, Timothy Dwight, Eli Whitney, and many others were mentioned. The representative of Brothers in Unity followed; and David Humphreys, Horace Bushnell, John M. Clayton, Samuel F. B. Morse, and Noah Webster were seldom forgotten. Cannot something of the kind be fostered at our universities today—to give men at the outset of their college life at least a glimpse of the rich traditions into which they may enter? It is possible that the state universities of the West may some day command larger resources than their friendly rivals of the East with only private endowment, but money can never buy the latter's priceless heritage of participation in the building of the nation. Let us not forget that association with the makers of history is, in terms of the spirit, an asset of the first importance.

But this deeper realization of the sacred associations of the past—the type of thing to which men of feeling are so sensitive when they enter an ancient church where good people have worshiped for centuries—is not alone enough. With it must go a determination to meet the needs of the present and of the future. Our most venerable universities were centers of ardent patriotism and of progress at the time of the Revolution and of the Civil War. They sent out men by the hundreds to fight the battles of liberty. This fact bound them with bands of steel to the nation's heart. They must

continue to be actively on the side of progress in solving the many social, political, and industrial problems of today, or else forfeit their claim to represent the American people. Their contact with enthusiastic youth from all sections, combined with their firm sense of dependence upon the past, should make them well-balanced leaders in meeting the country's needs. The link between Harvard (1638), Yale (1701), Princeton (1746), the University of Pennsylvania (1751), and Columbia (1754)—the only existing universities[2] firmly established with wide influence before the Revolution—and the most important chapters in our history, will be broken by any institution which, in the struggles for freedom now upon us, throws its strength to the side of reaction. Universities may be liberal, as in Russia, or conservative, as in England, and yet continue forces for good. But the moment they become reactionary they will forfeit that respect of the people which is necessary for any successful institution in a democracy.

It is the privilege and duty of that small group of universities whose history and constituency entitle them to be considered factors of national influence to lead the country today in interpreting its best aspirations. In this way they will be true to their past by passing on the best American traditions to the future without any break in historic continuity.

DIU FLOREAT ALMA MATER YALENSIS.

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[2] William and Mary (1693) and Washington and Lee (1749) are Virginia colleges rather than national universities. Dartmouth and Rutgers were founded only just prior to the Revolution (1770). Brown was established in 1765.

APPENDIX I

NATIONAL INFLUENCE OF YALE GRADUATES

INFLUENCE THROUGH STATES

The influence of most of the eminent Yalensians commemorated has been country-wide in scope, but as so large a proportion of them date back to colonial days, the New England States and the Atlantic seaboard have claimed the largest number. It has therefore seemed worth while to show the truly national character of Yale's influence by giving the names of graduates who have held representative positions in the various states and territories. As usual in these volumes, the Quinquennial Catalogue of 1910 is taken as the main authority, while the offices chosen are those of Governor, Chief Justice, United States Senator, College and University President, and Bishop (Protestant Episcopal). It is believed that taken together these will give a fair idea of the direct influence of the University on the life of different sections of the country. Unfortunately, no list of names can adequately indicate the effect of the work of hundreds of home missionaries, especially of Congregational ministers, who often held no important offices, but who gave their lives unselfishly and usefully to the building up of civilization in the Western states. The "Yale Bands" that went to Illinois, Iowa, and Oregon, were typical of this movement, which is discussed elsewhere.

The list indicates that the states where the University's influence has been most felt are, after Connecticut, New York (32 representative offices), Ohio (16), Massachusetts (14), Illinois (13), Vermont (13), Georgia (12), Missouri (12). Every state and territory in the Union is represented, except Arizona, Oklahoma, and Utah,

and in all of these Yale graduates have been, and are, engaged in useful service.

ALABAMA

President Henry Swift DeForest, Talladega, (B.A. 1857)
Bishop Richard Hooker Wilmer (B.A. 1836)

ALASKA

Governor John Green Brady (B.A. 1874)

ARKANSAS

President Albert Webb Bishop, Arkansas Industrial University, (B.A. 1853)

CALIFORNIA

Governor Henry Huntley Haight (B.A. 1844)
President Henry Durant, State University, (B.A. 1827)
President Martin Kellogg, State University, (B.A. 1850)
President Daniel Coit Gilman, State University, (B.A. 1852)
President Homer Baxter Sprague, Mills College, (B.A. 1852)
Bishop William Ingraham Kip (B.A. 1831)

COLORADO

Governor Albert Washington McIntire (B.A. 1873)
Senator Edward Oliver Wolcott (Class of 1870)
Acting President James Hutchison Kerr, Colorado College, (B.A. 1865)
Bishop Benjamin Brewster (B.A. 1882)

CONNECTICUT

Governor Thomas Fitch (B.A. 1721)
Governor Oliver Wolcott (B.A. 1747)
Governor John Treadwell (B.A. 1767)
Governor Oliver Wolcott, Jr., (B.A. 1778)
Governor Roger Griswold (B.A. 1780)
Governor John Cotton Smith (B.A. 1783)
Governor Samuel Augustus Foot (B.A. 1797)
Governor Joseph Trumbull (B.A. 1801)
Governor Charles Hobby Pond (B.A. 1802)
Governor Gideon Tomlinson (B.A. 1802)
Governor Clark Bissell (B.A. 1806)
Governor William Wolcott Ellsworth (B.A. 1810)
Governor Roger Sherman Baldwin (B.A. 1811)
Governor Henry Dutton (B.A. 1818)
Governor William Thomas Minor (B.A. 1834)
Governor Richard Dudley Hubbard (B.A. 1839)
Governor Charles Roberts Ingersoll (B.A. 1840)

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Governor Henry Baldwin Harrison (B.A. 1846)
Governor Luzon Burritt Morris (B.A. 1854)
Governor Simeon Eben Baldwin (B.A. 1861)
Governor Henry Roberts (B.A. 1877)
Chief Justice Zephaniah Swift (B.A. 1778)
Chief Justice Stephen Titus Hosmer (B.A. 1782)
Chief Justice David Daggett (B.A. 1783)
Chief Justice Thomas Scott Williams (B.A. 1794)
Chief Justice Samuel Church (B.A. 1803)
Chief Justice Henry Matson Waite (B.A. 1809)
Chief Justice William Lucius Storrs (B.A. 1814)
Chief Justice Origen Storrs Seymour (B.A. 1824)
Chief Justice Thomas Belden Butler (M.D. 1828)
Chief Justice Simeon Eben Baldwin (B.A. 1861)
Senator William Samuel Johnson (B.A. 1744)
Senator Stephen Mix Mitchell (B.A. 1763)
Senator James Hillhouse (B.A. 1773)
Senator Samuel Whittelsey Dana (B.A. 1775)
Senator Chauncey Goodrich (B.A. 1776)
Senator Uriah Tracy (B.A. 1778)
Senator David Daggett (B.A. 1783)
Senator James Lanman (B.A. 1788)
Senator Samuel Augustus Foot (B.A. 1797)
Senator Gideon Tomlinson (B.A. 1802)
Senator Jabez Williams Huntington (B.A. 1806)
Senator Thaddeus Betts (B.A. 1807)
Senator Roger Sherman Baldwin (B.A. 1811)
Senator Truman Smith (B.A. 1815)
Senator Francis Gillette (B.A. 1829)
Senator Orris Sanford Ferry (B.A. 1844)
Senator Frank Bosworth Brandegee (B.A. 1885)
President Ezra Stiles, Yale University, (B.A. 1746)
President Naphtali Daggett, Yale University, (B.A. 1748)
President Timothy Dwight, Yale University, (B.A. 1769)
President Jeremiah Day, Yale University, (B.A. 1795)
President Theodore Dwight Woolsey, Yale University, (B.A. 1820)
President Noah Porter, Yale University, (B.A. 1831)
President Timothy Dwight, Yale University, (B.A. 1849)
President Arthur Twining Hadley, Yale University, (B.A. 1876)
President Nathaniel Sheldon Wheaton, Trinity College, (B.A. 1814)
Acting President William North Rice, Wesleyan University, (Ph.D. 1867)
President Benjamin Franklin Koons, Storrs Agricultural College, (Ph.B. 1881)
President Rufus Whittaker Stimson, Connecticut Agricultural College, (B.D. 1897)

Bishop Samuel Seabury (B.A. 1748)
Bishop Abraham Jarvis (B.A. 1761)
Bishop Chauncey Bunce Brewster (B.A. 1868)

Delaware

Chief Justice John Middleton Clayton (B.A. 1815)
Senator John Wales (B.A. 1801)
Senator John Middleton Clayton (B.A. 1815)
Senator Anthony Higgins (B.A. 1861)

Florida

President Andrew Sledd, State University, (Ph.D. 1903)
Bishop Francis Huger Rutledge (B.A. 1820)

Georgia

Governor Lyman Hall (B.A. 1747)
Governor Nathan Brownson (B.A. 1761)
Governor Joseph Emerson Brown (LL.B. 1846)
Chief Justice Joseph Emerson Brown (LL.B. 1846)
Senator Abraham Baldwin (B.A. 1772)
Senator John Elliott (B.A. 1794)
Senator Joseph Emerson Brown (LL.B. 1846)
President Abraham Baldwin, State University, (B.A. 1772)
President Josiah Meigs, State University, (B.A. 1778)
President Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Emory College, (B.A. 1813)
President Horace Bumstead, Atlanta University, (B.A. 1863)
President Edward Twichell Ware, Atlanta University, (B.A. 1897)

Hawaii

Governor Walter Frear (B.A. 1885)
Governor George Robert Carter (Ph.B. 1888)
Chief Justice Albert Francis Judd (B.A. 1862)
Chief Justice Walter Frear (B.A. 1885)
President William DeWitt Alexander, Oahu College, (B.A. 1855)

Idaho

Senator Frederic Thomas DuBois (B.A. 1872)

Illinois

Chief Justice Benjamin Drake Magruder (B.A. 1856)
Senator Elias Kent Kane (B.A. 1813)
President Edward Beecher, Illinois College, (B.A. 1822)
President Julius Monson Sturtevant, Illinois College, (B.A. 1826)
President Clifford Webster Barnes, Illinois College, (B.A. 1889)
President John Putnam Gulliver, Knox College, (B.A. 1840)

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President Franklin Woodbury Fisk, Chicago Theological Seminary, (B.A. 1849)
President John Curtis Burroughs, Chicago University, (B.A. 1842)
President William Rainey Harper, University of Chicago, (Ph.D. 1875)
Acting President Daniel Bonbright, Northwestern University, (B.A. 1850)
President Leander Hubbell Potter, Northern Illinois College, (B.A. 1854)
President James G. K. McClure, Lake Forest University and McCormick Theological Seminary, (B.A. 1870)
President Gustav Albert Andreen, Augustana College, (B.A. 1894)

Indiana

President John Hiram Lathrop, State University, (B.A. 1819)
President Henry Turner Eddy, Rose Polytechnic, (B.A. 1867)

Iowa

Chief Justice Elias Hewitt Williams (B.A. 1840)
President George Thacher, State University, (B.A. 1840)
President William Brush, Upper Iowa University, and University of Northwest, (B.A. 1850)
President James Marshall, Coe College, (B.A. 1857)
President George Edwin MacLean, State University, (B.D. 1874)

Kansas

Chancellor Frank Strong, State University, (B.A. 1884)
President Norman Plass, Washburn College, (B.D. 1886)
President Frank Knight Sanders, Washburn College, (Ph.D. 1889)
President Albert Barnes Irwin, Highland College, (B.D. 1875)
Bishop Elisha Smith Thomas (B.A. 1858)
Bishop Sidney Catlin Partridge, Salina, (B.A. 1880)

Kentucky

Chief Justice Thomas Alexander Marshall (B.A. 1815)
President Horace Holley, Transylvania University, (B.A. 1803)

Louisiana

Chief Justice Thomas Slidell (B.A. 1825)
Senator Randall Lee Gibson (B.A. 1853)
President Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, Centenary College, (B.A. 1813)
President William Preston Johnston, State University and Tulane University, (B.A. 1852)
President Henry Lynes Hubbell, Lake Charles College, (B.A. 1854)

Maine

Chief Justice John Andrew Peters (B.A. 1842)

Maryland

President Bethel Judd, St. John's College, (B.A. 1797)
President Hector Humphreys, St. John's College, (B.A. 1818)
President Henry Barnard, St. John's College, (B.A. 1830)
President Daniel Coit Gilman, Johns Hopkins University, (B.A. 1852)
President James William Cain, Washington College, (B.A. 1884)

Massachusetts

Governor John Davis (B.A. 1812)
Governor William Barrett Washburn (B.A. 1844)
Chief Justice Marcus Perrin Knowlton (B.A. 1860)
Senator Theodore Sedgwick (B.A. 1765)
Senator Isaac Chapman Bates (B.A. 1802)
Senator John Davis (B.A. 1812)
Senator Julius Rockwell (B.A. 1826)
Senator Henry Laurens Dawes (B.A. 1839)
Senator William Barrett Washburn (B.A. 1844)
President Ebenezer Fitch, Williams College, (B.A. 1777)
President Edward Dorr Griffin, Williams College, (B.A. 1790)
President Heman Humphrey, Amherst College, (B.A. 1805)
President Samuel Henry Lee, American International College, (B.A. 1858)
President Marion LeRoy Burton, Smith College, (B.D. 1906)

Michigan

Governor William Hull (B.A. 1772)
Senator John Patton (B.A. 1875)
Bishop Thomas Frederick Davies (B.A. 1853)

Minnesota

Chief Justice Henry Zachariah Hayner (B.A. 1826)
Chief Justice William Henry Welch (B.A. 1827)
Chief Justice Isaac Atwater (B.A. 1844)
President Cyrus Northrop, State University, (B.A. 1857)
President George Edgar Vincent, State University, (B.A. 1885)
President William Henry Sallmon, Carleton College, (B.A. 1894)
President Donald John Cowling, Carleton College, (B.A. 1903)

Mississippi

President Simeon Colton, Mississippi College, (B.A. 1806)
President Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, State University, (B.A. 1813)
President Frederick A. P. Barnard, State University, (B.A. 1828)
President William Kirtland Douglas, Jefferson College, (B.A. 1851)

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Missouri

Governor Trusten Polk (B.A. 1831)
Governor Benjamin Gratz Brown (B.A. 1847)
Senator Trusten Polk (B.A. 1831)
Senator Benjamin Gratz Brown (B.A. 1847)
President Elihu Whittelsey Baldwin, Wabash College, (B.A. 1812)
President John Hiram Lathrop, State University, (B.A. 1819)
President William Wilson Hudson, State University, (B.A. 1827)
President William Bestor Corbyn, St. Paul's College, (B.A. 1839)
Chancellor Joseph Gibson Hoyt, Washington University, (B.A. 1840)
Chancellor William Chauvenet, Washington University, (B.A. 1840)
President Clinton Lockhart, Christian University, (Ph.D. 1894)
Bishop Charles Franklin Robertson (B.A. 1859)

Montana

President George John McAndrew, Montana Normal School, (B.A. 1884)

Nebraska

President David Brainerd Perry, Doane College, (B.A. 1863)
Chancellor James Irving Manatt, State University, (Ph.D. 1873)
Chancellor George Edwin MacLean, State University, (B.D. 1874)
President Alfred Mundy Wilson, Grand Island College, (Ph.D. 1889)

Nevada

Senator William Morris Stewart (Class of 1852, M.A. 1865)
Senator Francis Griffith Newlands (Class of 1867, M.A. 1901)

New Hampshire

Senator Simeon Olcott (B.A. 1761)
Senator Jeremiah Mason (B.A. 1788)
President Eleazar Wheelock, Dartmouth College, (B.A. 1733)
President Bennet Tyler, Dartmouth College, (B.A. 1804)

New Jersey

Governor William Livingston (B.A. 1741)
Senator John Fairfield Dryden (Class of 1865)
Senator John Kean (Class of 1876, M.A. 1890)
President Jonathan Dickinson, Princeton University, (B.A. 1706)
President Jonathan Edwards, Princeton University, (B.A. 1720)
President Aaron Burr, Princeton University, (B.A. 1735)
President John Henry Livingston, Rutgers College, (B.A. 1762)
President Abraham Bruyn Hasbrouck, Rutgers College, (B.A. 1810)
President Austin Scott, Rutgers College, (B.A. 1869)
Bishop Edwin Stevens Lines, Newark, (B.A. 1872)

New Mexico

Governor William Joseph Mills (LL.B. 1877)
Chief Justice James Hamilton Shorter (B.A. 1829)
Chief Justice William Joseph Mills (LL.B. 1877)
President Winfred Ernest Garrison, New Mexico Normal University, and College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, (B.A. 1894)
President Thadeous Hugh Claypool, New Mexico Baptist College, (B.A. 1898)

New York

Governor Samuel Jones Tilden (B.A. 1837)
Chief Justice Richard Morris (B.A. 1748)
Chief Justice James Kent (B.A. 1781)
Chief Justice Alexander Smith Johnson (B.A. 1835)
Senator John Sloss Hobart (B.A. 1757)
Senator James Watson (B.A. 1776)
Senator William Maxwell Evarts (B.A. 1837)
Senator Thomas Collier Platt (Class of 1853, M.A. 1876)
Senator Chauncey Mitchell Depew (B.A. 1856)
President Samuel Johnson, Columbia University, (B.A. 1714)
President William Samuel Johnson, Columbia University, (B.A. 1744)
President Frederick A. P. Barnard, Columbia University, (B.A. 1828)
President Azel Backus, Hamilton College, (B.A. 1787)
President Henry Davis, Hamilton College, (B.A. 1796)
President Simeon North, Hamilton College, (B.A. 1825)
President Samuel Ware Fisher, Hamilton College, (B.A. 1835)
President Alexander Hodgson Stevens, College of Physicians and Surgeons, (B.A. 1807)
President Edward Delafield, College of Physicians and Surgeons, (B.A. 1812)
President James Woods McLane, College of Physicians and Surgeons, (B.A. 1861)
President William Adams, Union Theological Seminary, (B.A. 1827)
Chancellor James Osborne Putnam, University of Buffalo, (B.A. 1839)
Chancellor Wilson Shannon Bissell, University of Buffalo, (B.A. 1869)
President Andrew Dickson White, Cornell University, (B.A. 1853)
Acting President Charlton T. Lewis, Troy University, (B.A. 1853)
President Augustus Hopkins Strong, Rochester Theological Seminary, (B.A. 1857)
President William Thompson Lusk, Bellevue Hospital Medical College, (B.A. 1859)
President Daniel St. John Roosa, Post-Graduate Medical School, (Class of 1860, M.A. 1868)
President Samuel Hanna Frisbee, College of St. Francis Xavier, (B.A. 1861)
President William Everett Waters, Wells College, (B.A. 1878)

APPENDIX I

President Charles Herbert Levermore, Adelphi College, (B.A. 1879)
President Boothe Colwell Davis, Alfred University, (B.D. 1893)
Bishop William Heathcote DeLancey, Western New York, (B.A. 1817)

North Carolina

Chief Justice William Nathan Smith (B.A. 1834)
Senator George Edmund Badger (B.A. 1813)
President George Wilson McPhail, Davidson College, (B.A. 1835)
President John Franklin Crowell, Trinity College, (B.A. 1883)
President Jesse Cobb Caldwell, Atlantic Christian College, (B.D. 1903)

North Dakota

President Homer Baxter Sprague, State University, (B.A. 1852)
President Webster Merrifield, State University, (B.A. 1877)
President Frank LeRond McVey, State University, (Ph.D. 1895)
President Edmund March Vittum, Fargo College, (B.D. 1884)

Ohio

Governor Samuel Huntington (B.A. 1785)
Governor Return Jonathan Meigs (B.A. 1785)
Governor Seabury Ford (B.A. 1825)
Chief Justice Samuel Huntington (B.A. 1785)
Chief Justice Return Jonathan Meigs (B.A. 1785)
Chief Justice Peter Hitchcock (B.A. 1801)
Senator Return Jonathan Meigs (B.A. 1785)
Senator Stanley Griswold (B.A. 1786)
President Lyman Beecher, Lane Theological Seminary, (B.A. 1797)
President David Bates Douglass, Kenyon College, (B.A. 1813)
President Thomas Mather Smith, Kenyon College, (B.A. 1816)
President Henry Lawrence Hitchcock, Western Reserve College, (B.A. 1832)
President Carroll Cutler, Western Reserve College, (B.A. 1854)
President George Scott, Otterbein University, (Ph.D. 1890)
President Newton Bracken Kelly, Franklin College, (B.D. 1884)
Bishop Boyd Vincent, Southern Ohio, (B.A. 1867)

Oregon

President John Wesley Johnson, State University, (B.A. 1862)
President Frank Strong, State University, (B.A. 1884)

Pennsylvania

President Jeremiah Atwater, Dickinson College, (B.A. 1793)
Provost William Heathcote DeLancey, University of Pennsylvania, (B.A. 1817)
Provost Charles Janeway Stillé, University of Pennsylvania, (B.A. 1839)
President Joel Jones, Girard College, (B.A. 1817)
President George Wilson McPhail, Lafayette College, (B.A. 1835)

President George Washington Atherton, Pennsylvania State College, (B.A. 1863)
President Edmund Simon Lorenz, Lebanon Valley College, (B.D. 1883)
President William Anthony Granville, Pennsylvania College, (Ph.B. 1893)
Bishop Cortlandt Whitehead, Pittsburgh, (B.A. 1863)

Philippine Islands[1]

Governor William Howard Taft (B.A. 1878)

Porto Rico

Governor William Henry Hunt (B.A. 1878)
Bishop James Heartt VanBuren (B.A. 1873)

Rhode Island

Governor George Peabody Wetmore (B.A. 1867)
Chief Justice Joshua Babcock (B.A. 1724)
Chief Justice Paul Mumford (B.A. 1754)
Senator Asher Robbins (B.A. 1782)
Senator Ray Greene (B.A. 1784)
Senator George Peabody Wetmore (B.A. 1867)
Bishop Samuel Seabury, Rhode Island and Connecticut, (B.A. 1748)
Bishop Thomas Marsh Clark (B.A. 1831)

South Carolina

Governor James Hopkins Adams (B.A. 1831)
Governor Daniel Henry Chamberlain (B.A. 1862)
Chief Justice Abraham Nott (B.A. 1787)
Senator John Caldwell Calhoun (B.A. 1804)
President Augustus Baldwin Longstreet, South Carolina College, (B.A. 1813)
Bishop Christopher Edwards Gadsden (B.A. 1804)

South Dakota

Senator Alfred Beard Kittredge (B.A. 1882)
President William Brush, Dakota University, (B.A. 1850)

Tennessee

President David Austin Sherman, East Tennessee College, (B.A. 1802)

Texas

President Marshall Richard Gaines, Tillotson College, (B.A. 1865)
President Oscar Henry Cooper, Simmons College, (B.A. 1872)
President Samuel Palmer Brooks, Baylor University, (B.A. 1894)

[1] Francis Burton Harrison (B.A. 1895) has been appointed governor since the last Quinquennial Catalogue was published.

APPENDIX I

Vermont

Governor Israel Smith (B.A. 1781)
Governor Edward Curtis Smith (B.A. 1875)
Chief Justice Enoch Woodbridge (B.A. 1774)
Chief Justice Nathaniel Chipman (B.A. 1777)
Chief Justice Israel Smith (B.A. 1781)
Senator Stephen Row Bradley (B.A. 1775)
Senator Nathaniel Chipman (B.A. 1777)
Senator Israel Smith (B.A. 1781)
Senator Horatio Seymour (B.A. 1797)
Senator Samuel Shethar Phelps (B.A. 1811)
President Samuel Austin, State University, (B.A. 1783)
President Jeremiah Atwater, Middlebury College, (B.A. 1793)
President Henry Davis, Middlebury College, (B.A. 1796)

Virginia

Governor Frederick William Holliday (B.A. 1847)
President William Maxwell, Hampden-Sidney College, (B.A. 1802)
President Mary Kendrick Benedict, Sweet Briar College, (Ph.D. 1903)

Washington

President Stephen B. L. Penrose, Whitman College, (B.D. 1890)
Bishop Frederic William Keator, Olympia, (B.A. 1880)

West Virginia

Senator Allen Taylor Caperton (B.A. 1832)

Wisconsin

Chancellor John Hiram Lathrop, State University, (B.A. 1819)
Chancellor Henry Barnard, State University, (B.A. 1830)
President Aaron Lucius Chapin, Beloit College, (B.A. 1837)
President Edward Dwight Eaton, Beloit College, (B.D. 1875)

Wyoming

President Elmer Ellsworth Smiley, State University, (B.D. 1890)

A comparison of the number of representative public offices held by graduates from the founding of the College to 1860 and to 1910, is of some interest as showing the increase of the University's national influence in the last half century. The figures in the first column are taken from Dr. Sprague's *Influence of Yale College on*

American Civilization, reprinted in the *American Journal of Education,* Vol. X, for 1861. The second column has been compiled from the last Quinquennial Catalogue:

	1860	1910[2]
United States Senators	41	62
Members of the Cabinet	10	20
Ambassadors and Ministers	9	28
Governors of States	27	47
Judges of State Supreme Courts	106	150
University and College Presidents	42	162

Speaking generally the figures show that the total number of representative offices of importance held by Yale graduates since the foundation of the institution has doubled in the University's fourth half-century—except that judges and senators have only increased one-third, while college presidents (in this era of national educational expansion) have about quadrupled in number.

Among Yale's representative statesmen and jurists in the Far East may be mentioned:

China—Yung Wing (B.A. 1854), Chinese Minister to the United States and Chairman of the Chinese Educational Commission; Liang Tun Yen (B.A. 1882), President Board of Foreign Affairs, and Prime Minister; Chung Hui Wang (M.L. 1903), President of the Board of Justice; Chin-tao Chen (Ph.D. 1906), President of the Board of Finance; Chêng-t'ing Wang (B.A. 1910), Vice-Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Japan—Viscount Tajiri Inajiro (B.A. 1878), President of the Board of Audit; Kazuo Hatoyama (M.L. 1878), President of the House of Representatives; Viscount Nagamoto Okabe (Class of 1882 S.), Minister of the Department of Justice.

Siam—Tokichi Masao (M.L. 1896, D.C.L. 1897), Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

[2] Since 1910 two additional graduates have been elected to the Senate: Le Baron Colt (B.A. 1868), Rhode Island, and Morris Sheppard (M.L. 1898), Texas.

APPENDIX I

INFLUENCE THROUGH NATIONAL SOCIETIES

The national position of the University in the field of scholarship and of science may be seen by a study of the part played by graduates in the leadership of the most representative learned societies. The following is a list of Yale presidents of such organizations:

Class of	
1799	Eli Ives, American Medical Association
1807	Alexander Hodgson Stevens, American Medical Association
1808	Jonathan Knight, American Medical Association
1820	Theodore Dwight Woolsey, American Oriental Society
1832	Edward Elbridge Salisbury, American Oriental Society
1842	James Hadley, American Oriental Society
1842	James Hammond Trumbull, American Philological Association
1846	Frederick John Kingsbury, American Social Science Association
1848	Henry Hitchcock, American Bar Association
1852	Daniel Coit Gilman, American Oriental Society, Carnegie Institute
1853	Andrew Dickson White, American Social Science Association, American Historical Association
1854	John Chapin Sanders, American Institute of Homeopathy
1854	Yung Wing, Chinese Educational Commission
1856	Lewis Richard Packard, American Philological Association
1858	Daniel Garrison Brinton, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Folk Lore Society
1858	William Torrey Harris, National Educational Association
1858	Arthur Mathewson, American Ophthalmological and Otological Societies
1860	Francis Delafield, American Association of Physicians
1860	Othniel Charles Marsh, National Academy of Sciences
1861	Simeon Eben Baldwin, American Social Science Association, American Historical Association, American Political Science Association, International Law Association, American Bar Association
1861	James Nevins Hyde, American Dermatological Association
1861	Tracy Peck, American Philological Association
1862	Frederick Irving Knight, American Laryngological Association, American Climatological Association
1863	William Graham Sumner, American Sociological Society
1864	Charles Henry Burnett, American Otological Association
1866	Frederick Newton Judson, American Political Science Association
1866	Samuel Benedict St. John, American Ophthalmological Society

1867 Matthew Darbyshire Mann, American Gynecological Society
1869 Bernadotte Perrin, American Philological Association
1870 William Henry Welch, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Medical Association, Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research
1871 Charles Benjamin Dudley, American Chemical Society, International Society for Testing Materials
1871 Charles Rockwell Lanman, American Oriental Society, American Philological Association
1872 David Bryson Delavan, American Laryngological Association
1872 Frederic Shepard Dennis, American Surgical Association
1874 Henry Walcott Farnam, American Statistical Association, American Association for Labor Legislation, American Economic Association
1876 Arthur Twining Hadley, American Economic Association
1877 Samuel Augustus Fisk, American Climatological Association
1878 Reynold Webb Wilcox, American Therapeutic Society
1882 Archibald Ashley Welch, Actuarial Society of America
1883 Eliakim Hastings Moore, American Mathematical Society
1884 George Hudson Makuen, American Academy of Medicine
1889 Gifford Pinchot, National Conservation Association
1891 Lafayette Benedict Mendel, American Society of Biological Chemists
1852 S. William Henry Brewer, American Association for the Advancement of Science
1852 S. George Jarvis Brush, American Association for the Advancement of Science
1858 S. George Frederic Barker, American Chemical Society, American Association for the Advancement of Science
1863 S. Arnold Hague, Geological Society of America
1864 S. Arthur VanHarlingen, American Dermatological Association
1867 S. David Halsey Wells, Actuarial Society of America
1874 S. Henry Hun, Association of American Physicians
1875 S. Russell Henry Chittenden, American Society of Naturalists, Society of Biological Chemists
1876 S. John Hays Hammond, American Institute of Mining Engineers
1877 S. William Thompson Sedgwick, American Society of Naturalists
1877 S. Henry Ling Taylor, American Orthopædic Association
1881 S. Ethan Allen Andrews, Society of Zoölogists
1883 S. Edward Bradford Dench, American Otological Society
1884 S. Andrew Lincoln Winton, Association of Agricultural Chemists
1894 S. William John Gies, Society of Physiological Chemistry
1894 S. Joseph Hersey Pratt, American Society for the Advancement of Medical Research

APPENDIX I

1877 B.D. George Burton Adams, American Historical Association (B.A. Beloit College)

1883 B.D. George Stuart Fullerton, American Psychological Association (B.A. University of Pennsylvania)

1852 M.D. Charles Augustus Lindsley, American Medical Society (B.A. Trinity College)

1880 M.D. Samuel Wendell Williston, Society of Vertebrate Paleontology (B.S. Kansas Agricultural College)

1890 M.A. George Malcolm Stratton, American Psychological Association, (B.A. University of California)

1867 Ph.D. William North Rice, American Society of Naturalists (B.A. Wesleyan University)

1903 Ph.D. Wilton Everett Britton, Association of Economic Entomology (B.S. New Hampshire College of Agriculture)

The following Yale graduates have been members of the National Academy of Sciences, the most representative organization of scientific men in the country. The list does not include non-graduates:

1796	Benjamin Silliman	1815 M.	Jared Potter Kirtland
1812	Theodore Strong	1852 S.	William Henry Brewer
1823	William Starling Sullivant	1852 S.	George Jarvis Brush
1828	Frederick A. P. Barnard	1858 S.	George Frederic Barker
1830	Elias Loomis	1862 S.	Clarence King
1833	James Dwight Dana	1863 S.	Arnold Hague
1837	Benjamin Silliman, Jr.	1867 S.	Sidney Irving Smith
1839	Josiah Dwight Whitney	1870 S.	Charles Sheldon Hastings
1840	William Chauvenet	1872 S.	Theophil Mitchell Prudden
1842	James Hadley	1875 S.	Russell Henry Chittenden
1842	James Hammond Trumbull	1877 S.	Horace Lemuel Wells
1843	Joseph Stillman Hubbard	1877 S.	Samuel Lewis Penfield
1850	Hubert Anson Newton	1878 S.	Edmund Beecher Wilson
1858	Josiah Willard Gibbs	1882 S.	Louis Valentine Pirsson
1859	Arthur Williams Wright	1892 S.	Bertram Borden Boltwood
1860	Clarence Edward Dutton	1889 Ph.D.	Charles Emerson Beecher (B.S. University of Michigan)
1860	Othniel Charles Marsh		
1870	Edward Salisbury Dana	1897 Ph.D.	Henry Andrews Bumstead (B.A. Johns Hopkins University)
1870	William Henry Welch		
1883	Eliakim Hastings Moore		
1891	Lafayette Benedict Mendel		

APPENDIX II

SUMMARY OF EMINENT YALE MEN BY CLASSES

In the following table capitals indicate that a graduate's biography is given in full, while ordinary type is used for names which make up the supplementary lists. The former may be consulted for information regarding student life at any period. The classes of 1706, 1746, 1778, 1827, 1837, 1853, and 1858 are specially conspicuous for their contribution of eminent men. These are scattered at irregular intervals throughout the history of the College, every decade being represented by at least one name of real significance. The most productive single period was the early part of President Clap's vigorous administration. During his first eight years, eight men were graduated whose biographies were believed to be worthy of record in these volumes. One out of every eighteen thus attained great distinction, while the proportion in the whole history of the institution is only one for one hundred and thirty-one.[1]

1706	JONATHAN DICKINSON	1738	DAVID WOOSTER
1706	JARED ELIOT	1741	SAMUEL HOPKINS
1714	SAMUEL JOHNSON	1741	WILLIAM LIVINGSTON
1719	William Smith	1742	Joseph Hawley
1720	JONATHAN EDWARDS	*1743	DAVID BRAINERD[2]
1729	John Sergeant	1744	WILLIAM S. JOHNSON
1733	ELEAZAR WHEELOCK	1745	WILLIAM SMITH
1735	Joseph Bellamy	1746	Lewis Morris
1735	Aaron Burr	1746	EZRA STILES
1737	Philip Livingston	1746	PELATIAH WEBSTER
1738	PHINEAS LYMAN	1747	OLIVER WOLCOTT

[1] These facts are based on 75 names being chosen for major biographies out of 10,348 deceased alumni, according to 1910 Quinquennial Catalogue. The four remaining sketches (making total of 79) are of non-graduates.

[2] In this list an asterisk represents a non-graduate.

APPENDIX II

1747 Lyman Hall
1748 SAMUEL SEABURY
1757 Edmund Fanning
1758 SILAS DEANE
1759 Benjamin Trumbull
1765 MANASSEH CUTLER
1765 Theodore Sedgwick
1766 Jared Ingersoll
1767 Nathaniel Emmons
1767 JOHN TRUMBULL
1769 TIMOTHY DWIGHT
1771 DAVID HUMPHREYS
1772 ABRAHAM BALDWIN
1772 William Hull
1773 NATHAN HALE
1773 Benjamin Tallmadge
1773 John Palsgrave Wyllys
1775 DAVID BUSHNELL
1777 Nathaniel Chipman
1778 JOEL BARLOW
1778 Zephaniah Swift
1778 NOAH WEBSTER
1778 OLIVER WOLCOTT
1780 Mason Fitch Cogswell
1781 JAMES KENT
1783 Abiel Holmes
1783 Jedidiah Morse
1785 Return Jonathan Meigs
1788 JEREMIAH MASON
1790 Edward Dorr Griffin
1791 JAMES GOULD
1791 PETER BUELL PORTER
1792 Roger Minott Sherman
1792 ELI WHITNEY
1795 Jeremiah Day
1796 BENJAMIN SILLIMAN
1797 LYMAN BEECHER
1799 James Luce Kingsley
1799 MOSES STUART
1802 Jeremiah Evarts
1802 Junius Smith
1804 JOHN C. CALHOUN
1804 John Pierpont
1804 Bennet Tyler
1805 THOMAS H. GALLAUDET
*1806 J. FENIMORE COOPER
1806 James Gadsden
1807 Alexander H. Stevens
1807 NATHANIEL W. TAYLOR
1808 James Abraham Hillhouse
1809 Josiah Willard Gibbs
1810 SAMUEL F. B. MORSE
1811 Roger Sherman Baldwin
1811 JOSEPH E. WORCESTER
1812 John Davis
1813 Alexander M. Fisher
1813 Augustus B. Longstreet
1813 Denison Olmsted
1815 JOHN M. CLAYTON
1815 Jared Potter Kirtland
1815 JAMES G. PERCIVAL
1816 ELI WHITNEY BLAKE
1817 William H. DeLancey
1819 John Hiram Lathrop
1820 LEONARD BACON
1820 Alexander Catlin Twining
1820 THEODORE WOOLSEY
1821 Eli Smith
1823 William S. Sullivant
*1825–26 Edward Hitchcock
1827 William Adams
1827 Theron Baldwin
1827 HORACE BUSHNELL
1827 Henry Durant
1827 NATHANIEL P. WILLIS
1828 F. A. P. BARNARD
*1829 JUDAH P. BENJAMIN
1830 HENRY BARNARD
1830 ELIAS LOOMIS
1830 Ray Palmer
1831 PETER PARKER
1831 NOAH PORTER
1832 Samuel Robbins Brown
1832 CASSIUS M. CLAY
1832 Edward Elbridge Salisbury
1833 JAMES D. DANA

1833 Alphonso Taft
1835 Thomas A. Thacher
1836 Sylvester Judd
1837 WILLIAM M. EVARTS
1837 SAMUEL J. TILDEN
1837 MORRISON R. WAITE
1839 Charles Astor Bristed
1839 Henry L. Dawes
1839 Ebenezer Porter Mason
1839 Charles J. Stillé
1839 Francis Wharton
1839 JOSIAH D. WHITNEY
1840 WILLIAM CHAUVENET
1841 DONALD G. MITCHELL
1842 JAMES HADLEY
1842 J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL
*1840–43 John Pitkin Norton
1843 Henry Stevens
*1842–43, 45–46 Frederick Law Olmsted
*1845–46 Thomas Sterry Hunt
1846 Charles Loring Brace
1846 Joseph E. Brown
1846 RICHARD TAYLOR
1847 Benjamin Gratz Brown
1848 THEODORE WINTHROP
1849 Francis Miles Finch
1849 William F. Poole
1850 HUBERT A. NEWTON
1851 Theodore T. Munger
1852 William Henry Brewer
1852 DANIEL C. GILMAN
1853 HIRAM BINGHAM
1853 Randall Lee Gibson
*1851–53 SAMUEL W. JOHNSON
1853 EDMUND C. STEDMAN
1854 James Clay Rice
1855 Elisha Mulford
1856 David J. Brewer
1857 Moses Coit Tyler
1858 DANIEL G. BRINTON
1858 JOSIAH WILLARD GIBBS
1858 WILLIAM T. HARRIS
1859 Eugene Schuyler
1860 OTHNIEL C. MARSH
1861 EDWARD ROWLAND SILL
1862 CLARENCE KING
1863 WILLIAM G. SUMNER
1875 WILLIAM R. HARPER
1883 Edward G. Bourne
1900 Frederic Remington

APPENDIX III

GRAVES OF EMINENT YALE MEN IN THE NEW HAVEN CEMETERY

Probably no American burial ground contains more graves of eminent men than the Grove Street Cemetery, which was established in 1796, and was the first large place of burial in America to be divided into family lots. Most of the ancient headstones from the graveyard formerly located on the Green behind Center Church were removed here in 1821. Over four hundred of these, many of them very quaint and dating back to the seventeenth century, have been placed in alphabetical order along the inner side of the boundary wall in the extreme northwest corner of the property. Every visitor to New Haven and every student at the University will find the cemetery a place of great interest.

The accompanying plan shows the location of the graves of thirty-six of the most eminent Yale men—over one-fifth of the entire number commemorated by biographies in these volumes. In addition, certain numbers are given in brackets of a few other persons of note, especially officers and benefactors of the University. The numbers are arranged consecutively with a view to the walk suggested by the arrows on the plan, including as it does the graves with the most important historical associations. "Markers" indicating that the deceased took part in the American Revolution will be found in front of many of them. Several score of the old tombstones were left in their original positions when the Center Church was built in 1813, and may still be seen in the crypt. Among them is the grave of Jared Ingersoll (B.A. 1742), Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court and Stamp Act Agent. He was the father of Jared Ingersoll (q.v.).

GRAVES OF EMINENT MEN IN GROVE STREET CEM

*[1] [Jehudi Ashmun]
[2] [George E. Day]
[3] [Amos Beebe Eaton]
4 Benjamin Silliman, Sr. (q.v.)
5 James Dwight Dana (q.v.)
6 Jedidiah Morse (q.v.)
7 David Humphreys (q.v.)
8 Theodore Winthrop (q.v.)
9 Noah Porter (q.v.)
10 Lyman Beecher (q.v.)
11 Nathaniel W. Taylor (q.v.)
12 Eli Whitney (q.v.)
13 Noah Webster (q.v.)
[14] [Eli Ives]
15 Denison Olmsted (q.v.)
[16] [Jonathan Knight]
[17] [George J. Brush]
[18] [Yale University Lots]
[19] [Francis Wayland]
20 John Pitkin Norton (q.v.)
21 Hubert Anson Newton (q.v.)
22 Edward G. Bourne (q.v.)
23 Samuel W. Johnson (q.v.)
[24] [Charles Goodyear]
25 Jeremiah Evarts (q.v.)
[26] [Thomas Day Seymour]
27 Theodore Dwight Woolsey (q.v.)
[28] [Joseph Earl Sheffield]
29 Josiah Willard Gibbs, Sr. (q.v.)

GRAVES OF EMINENT MEN IN GROVE STRE

*[Jehudi Ashmun[1]] 1
Leonard Bacon[2] (q.v.) 30a
Roger Sherman Baldwin[3] (q.v.) 51
Lyman Beecher (q.v.) 10
[Hiram Bingham, Sr.[4]] 69
Eli Whitney Blake (q.v.) 40
Edward G. Bourne[5] (q.v.) 22
William H. Brewer (q.v.) 63
[George J. Brush[6]] 17
[Thomas Clap[7]] 57
[David Daggett[8]] 50
[Naphtali Daggett[9]] 49
James Dwight Dana (q.v.) 5
[George E. Day[10]] 2
Jeremiah Day (q.v.) 56
[Amos Doolittle[26]]
Timothy Dwight (q.v.) 46
[Amos Beebe Eaton[11]] 3
[Theophilus Eaton[12]] 43
Jeremiah Evarts[13] (q.v.) 25
[Henry Farnam[14]] 66
[George P. Fisher[15]] 61
[Andrew Hull Foote[16]] 48
Josiah Willard Gibbs, Sr. (q.v.) 29
Josiah Willard Gibbs, Jr. (q.v.) 30
[Chauncey A. Goodrich[17]] 67
[Charles Goodyear[18]] 24
James Hadley (q.v.) 33

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*Brackets indicate a man not specially commemorated in *Memorials*.

[1]An organizer of the Colony of Liberia and first Colonial Agent.

[2]The grave of Delia Bacon, the originator of the Baconian theory as applied to the writings of Shakespeare, adjoins that of her brother, Leonard Bacon.

[3]The grave of his son, Simeon Baldwin, B.A. 1781, M. C. and Judge of the Connecticut Supreme Court, adjoins that of Roger Sherman Baldwin.

[4]Pioneer missionary to Hawaii, and father of Hiram Bingham (q.v.).

[5]A small evergreen marks Professor Bourne's grave.

[6]Ph.B. 1852. First Director of the Sheffield Scientific School.

[7]President of Yale College, 1740-1766.

[8]B.A. 1783. Chief Justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court.

[9]B.A. 1748. President of Yale College (pro tempore), 1766-1777.

[10]B.A. 1833. Professor of Hebrew and Biblical Theology.

[11]Brigadier and Commissary-General, U. S. Army in Civil War.

[12]First Governor of the New Haven Colony (d. 1658). He was the stepfather of David Yale, father of Elihu Yale.

[13]There is no

[14]Prominent

[15]Church hist

[16]Admiral in t

[17]B.A. 1810.
Christian force

[18]Inventor of

[19]Professor of

[20]B.A. 1773.
spirited citizen.

[21]B.A. 1840.

[22]B.A. 1799.

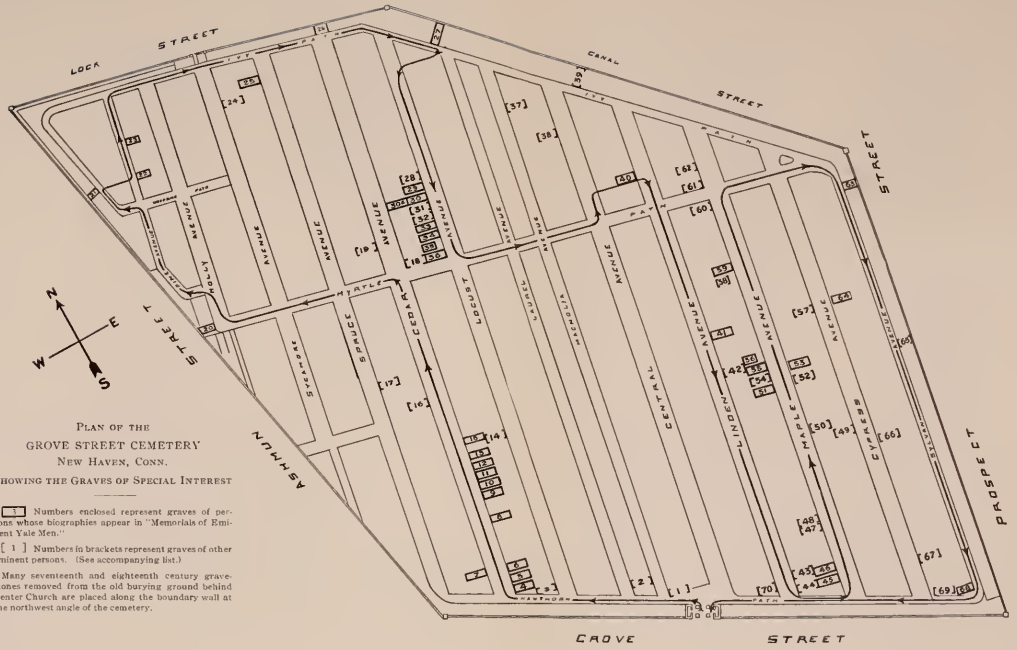
[23]B.A. 1808.

[24]B A. 1826.

[25]Adjoining t

[26]Noted early

[27]B.A. 1797.



PLAN OF THE
GROVE STREET CEMETERY
NEW HAVEN, CONN.
SHOWING THE GRAVES OF SPECIAL INTEREST

[1] Numbers enclosed represent graves of persons whose biographies appear in "Memorials of Eminent Yale Men."

[1] Numbers in brackets represent graves of other eminent persons. (See accompanying list.)

Many seventeenth and eighteenth century gravestones removed from the old burying ground behind Center Church are placed along the boundary wall at the northwest angle of the cemetery.

GRAVES OF EMINENT MEN IN GROVE STREET CEMETERY, NEW HAVEN, ARRANGED IN ORDER GIVEN ON ACCOMPANYING PLAN

*[1] [Jehudi Ashmun]
[2] [George E. Day]
[3] [Amos Beebe Eaton]
4 Benjamin Silliman, Sr. (q.v.)
5 James Dwight Dana (q.v.)
6 Jedidiah Morse (q.v.)
7 David Humphreys (q.v.)
8 Theodore Winthrop (q.v.)
9 Noah Porter (q.v.)
10 Lyman Beecher (q.v.)
11 Nathaniel W. Taylor (q.v.)
12 Eli Whitney (q.v.)
13 Noah Webster (q.v.)
[14] [Eli Ives]
15 Denison Olmsted (q.v.)
[16] [Jonathan Knight]
[17] [George J. Brush]
[18] [Yale University Lots]
[19] [Francis Wayland]
20 John Pitkin Norton (q.v.)
21 Hubert Anson Newton (q.v.)
22 Edward G. Bourne (q.v.)
23 Samuel W. Johnson (q.v.)
[24] [Charles Goodyear]
25 Jeremiah Evarts (q.v.)
[26] [Thomas Day Seymour]
27 Theodore Dwight Woolsey (q.v.)
[28] [Joseph Earl Sheffield]
29 Josiah Willard Gibbs, Sr. (q.v.)
30 Josiah Willard Gibbs, Jr (q.v.)
30a Leonard Bacon (q.v.)
[31] [William A. Larned]
[32] [James M. Hoppin]
33 James Hadley (q.v.)
34 Alexander C. Twining (q.v.)
35 Elias Loomis (q.v.)
36 Othniel C. Marsh (q.v.)
[37] [Samuel Harris]
[38] [James Murdock]
[39] [Alfred H. Terry]
40 Eli Whitney Blake (q.v.)
41 Edward E. Salisbury (q.v.)
[42] [William Dwight Whitney]
[43] [Theophilus Eaton]
[44] [Yale University Lots]
45 Ezra Stiles (q.v.)
46 Timothy Dwight (q.v.)
[47] [Augustus R. Street]
[48] [Andrew Hull Foote]
[49] [Naphtali Daggett]
[50] [David Daggett]
51 Roger Sherman Baldwin (q.v.)
[52] [James Hillhouse]
53 James Abraham Hillhouse (q.v.)
[54] [Roger Sherman]
55 Thomas A. Thacher (q.v.)
56 Jeremiah Day (q.v.)
[57] [Thomas Clap]
58 David Wooster (q.v.)
[59] [Amos Doolittle]
[60] [Nathan Smith, Senator]
[61] [George P. Fisher]
[62] [Benjamin Silliman, Jr.]
63 William H. Brewer (q.v.)
64 James L. Kingsley (q.v.)
[65] [William H. Russell]
[66] [Henry Farnam]
[67] [Chauncey A. Goodrich]
68 Theodore T. Munger (q.v.)

GRAVES OF EMINENT MEN IN GROVE STREET CEMETERY, NEW HAVEN, ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

*[Jehudi Ashmun][1] 1
Leonard Bacon[a] (q.v.) 30a
Roger Sherman Baldwin[b] (q.v.) 51
Lyman Beecher (q.v.) 10
[Hiram Bingham, Sr.[c]] 69
Eli Whitney Blake (q.v.) 40
Edward G. Bourne[d] (q.v.) 22
William H. Brewer (q.v.) 63
[George J. Brush[e]] 17
[Thomas Clap[f]] 57
[David Daggett[g]] 50
[Naphtali Daggett[g]] 49
James Dwight Dana (q.v.) 5
[George E. Day[1a]] 2
Jeremiah Day (q.v.) 56
[Amos Doolittle[1b]]
Timothy Dwight (q.v.) 46
[Amos Beebe Eaton[1c]] 3
[Theophilus Eaton[1c]] 43
Jeremiah Evarts[1d] (q.v.) 25
[Henry Farnam[1e]] 66
[George P. Fisher[1f]] 61
[Andrew Hull Foote[1g]] 48
Josiah Willard Gibbs, Sr. (q.v.) 29
Josiah Willard Gibbs, Jr (q.v.) 30
[Chauncey A. Goodrich[1h]] 67
[Charles Goodyear[1i]] 24
James Hadley (q.v.) 33
[Samuel Harris[1k]] 37
[James Hillhouse[1l]] 52
James Abraham Hillhouse (q.v.) 53
[James M. Hoppin[1m]] 32
David Humphreys (q.v.) 7
[Eli Ives[1n]] 14
Samuel W. Johnson (q.v.) 23
James L. Kingsley (q.v.) 64
[Jonathan Knight[1o]] 16
[William A. Larned[1p]] 31
Elias Loomis (q.v.) 35
Othniel C. Marsh (q.v.) 36
Jedidiah Morse[1q] (q.v.) 6
Theodore T. Munger (q.v.) 68
[James Murdock[1r]] 38
Hubert Anson Newton (q.v.) 21
John Pitkin Norton (q.v.) 20
Denison Olmsted (q.v.) 15
Noah Porter (q.v.) 9
[William H. Russell[1s]] 65
Edward E. Salisbury (q.v.) 41
[Thomas Day Seymour[1t]] 26
[Joseph Earl Sheffield[2a]] 28
[Roger Sherman[2b]] 54
Benjamin Silliman, Sr. (q.v.) 4
[Benjamin Silliman, Jr.[2c]] 62
[Nathan Smith, Senator] 60
[Nathan Smith, Surgeon[2d]] 70
Ezra Stiles (q.v.) 45
[Augustus R. Street[2e]] 47
Nathaniel W. Taylor (q.v.) 11
[Alfred H. Terry[2f]] 39
Thomas A. Thacher (q.v.) 55
Alexander C. Twining (q.v.) 34
[Francis Wayland[2g]] 19
Noah Webster (q.v.) 13
Eli Whitney (q.v.) 12
[William Dwight Whitney[2h]] 42
Theodore Winthrop (q.v.) 8
Theodore Dwight Woolsey (q.v.) 27
David Wooster (q.v.) 58
[Yale University Lots[2i]] 18, 44

---

*Brackets indicate a man not specially commemorated in *Memorials*.

[1] An organizer of the Colony of Liberia and first Colonial Agent.

[1a] The grave of Delia Bacon, the originator of the Baconian theory as applied to the writings of Shakespeare, adjoins that of her brother, Leonard Bacon.

[1b] The grave of his son, Simeon Baldwin, B.A. 1781, M.C. and Judge of the Connecticut Supreme Court, adjoins that of Roger Sherman Baldwin.

[1c] Pioneer missionary to Hawaii, and father of Hiram Bingham (q.v.).

[1d] A small evergreen marks Professor Bourne's grave

[1e] Ph.B. 1852. First Director of the Sheffield Scientific School.

[1f] President of Yale College, 1740-1766.

[1g] B.A. 1783. Chief Justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court.

[1h] B.A. 1748. President of Yale College (pro tempore), 1766-1777.

[1i] B.A. 1833. Professor of Hebrew and Biblical Theology.

[1k] Brigadier and Commissary-General, U.S. Army in Civil War.

[1l] First Governor of the New Haven Colony (d. 1658). He was the stepfather of David Yale, father of Elihu Yale.

[1m] There is no gravestone.

[1n] Prominent New Haven merchant and benefactor of the College.

[1o] Church historian and Dean of the Divinity School.

[1p] Admiral in the American Navy.

[1q] B.A. 1810. Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Charge. A strong Christian force among the students.

[1r] Inventor of the process of vulcanizing india rubber.

[1s] Professor of Systematic Theology.

[1t] B.A. 1773. U.S. Senator. Treasurer of the College, and public-spirited citizen.

[2a] B.A. 1840. Professor of the History of Art.

[2b] B.A. 1799. Professor of Medicine, etc.

[2c] B.A. 1808. Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, etc.

[2d] B.A. 1826. Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature.

[2e] Adjoining this grave is that of the widow of S.F.B. Morse (q.v.)

[2f] Noted early American engraver

[2g] B.A. 1797. Biblical scholar.

[2h] B.A. 1833. As Principal of "The Collegiate and Commercial Institute" on Wooster Square, General Russell educated about four thousand young men, of whom some three hundred became Union officers.

[2i] Professor of the Greek Language and Literature.

[2k] New Haven merchant and founder of the Sheffield Scientific School.

[2l] Treasurer of the College. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Statesman.

[2m] B.A. 1837. Professor of Chemistry.

[2n] Professor of Theory and Practise of Physic. Surgery and Obstetrics

[2o] B.A. 1812. Founder of the School of the Fine Arts.

[2p] General in the Union Army. For a short time a student in the Law School.

[2q] Dean of the Law School.

[2r] Professor of Sanskrit Language and Literature, and Comparative Philology.

[2s] These lots belong to the University. The first-named contains many interesting graves.

ANGED IN ORDER GIVEN ON ACCOMPANYING PLAN

[43] [Theophilus Eaton]
[44] [Yale University Lots]
45 Ezra Stiles (q.v.)
46 Timothy Dwight (q.v.)
[47] [Augustus R. Street]
[48] [Andrew Hull Foote]
[49] [Naphtali Daggett]
[50] [David Daggett]
51 Roger Sherman Baldwin (q.v.)
[52] [James Hillhouse]
53 James Abraham Hillhouse (q.v.)
[54] [Roger Sherman]
55 Thomas A. Thacher (q.v.)
56 Jeremiah Day (q.v.)
[57] [Thomas Clap]
58 David Wooster (q.v.)
[59] [Amos Doolittle]
[60] [Nathan Smith, Senator]
[61] [George P. Fisher]
[62] [Benjamin Silliman, Jr.]
63 William H. Brewer (q.v.)
64 James L. Kingsley (q.v.)
[65] [William H. Russell]
[66] [Henry Farnam]
[67] [Chauncey A. Goodrich]
68 Theodore T. Munger (q.v.)
[69] [Hiram Bingham, Sr.]
[70] [Nathan Smith, Surgeon]

EN, ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

[James Murdock[27]] 38
Hubert Anson Newton (q.v.) 21
John Pitkin Norton (q.v.) 20
Denison Olmsted (q.v.) 15
Noah Porter (q.v.) 9
[William H. Russell[28]] 65
Edward E. Salisbury (q.v.) 41
[Thomas Day Seymour[29]] 26
[Joseph Earl Sheffield[30]] 28
[Roger Sherman[31]] 54
Benjamin Silliman, Sr. (q.v.) 4
[Benjamin Silliman, Jr.[32]] 62
[Nathan Smith, Senator] 60
[Nathan Smith, Surgeon[33]] 70
Ezra Stiles (q.v.) 45
[Augustus R. Street[34]] 47
Nathaniel W. Taylor (q.v.) 11
[Alfred H. Terry[35]] 39
Thomas A. Thacher (q.v.) 55
Alexander C. Twining (q.v.) 34
[Francis Wayland[36]] 19
Noah Webster (q.v.) 13
Eli Whitney (q.v.) 12
[William Dwight Whitney[37]] 42
Theodore Winthrop (q.v.) 8
Theodore Dwight Woolsey (q.v.) 27
David Wooster (q.v.) 58
[Yale University Lots[38]] 18, 44

the College.

rge. A strong

e, and public-

ature.
Morse (q.v.)

[28]B.A. 1833. As Principal of "The Collegiate and Commercial Institute" on Wooster Square, General Russell educated about four thousand young men, of whom some three hundred became Union officers.

[29]Professor of the Greek Language and Literature.

[30]New Haven merchant and founder of the Sheffield Scientific School.

[31]Treasurer of the College. Signer of the Declaration of Independence. Statesman.

[32]B.A. 1837. Professor of Chemistry.

[33]Professor of Theory and Practise of Physic, Surgery and Obstetrics.

[34]B.A. 1812. Founder of the School of the Fine Arts.

[35]General in the Union Army. For a short time a student in the Law School.

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[37]Professor of Sanskrit Language and Literature, and Comparative Philology.

[38]These lots belong to the University. The first-named contains many interesting graves.

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[1] The large amount of material included has made much concentration of statement necessary. Subdivisions will be found under the same word, e.g. Adams, Alicia; Andrew, etc. Where there is more than one reference to a name the one covering the most pages may be consulted for the biographical sketch, e.g. Gilman, D. C., I, 264-272. In cases where college institutions, customs, etc., are not found indexed under a separate main title, consult subtitles under College or Yale. The names of all works quoted from in the text are given, but no attempt has been made to include books merely referred to casually. References to I, 369-371 and II, 417-419 are to the facsimiles of signatures which appear only in the Subscribers' Edition.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

I, p. 3, last line—add as footnote: "Of the 158 names represented by biographies in these volumes, all except five have sketches in Appleton's *Encyclopedia of American Biography*. The exceptions are Bingham, Bourne, Durant, and Wyllys. 105 are referred to in the Index of the 1910 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Of the 79 'Eminent Yale Men' the only ones not mentioned in the last-named work are Bingham, Wooster, Loomis, Chauvenet, Newton, S. W. Johnson, P. Webster, J. Mason, P. B. Porter, and Winthrop."

I, p. 26, twenty-sixth line—for "West Divinity" read "East Divinity."

I, p. 185, twenty-seventh line—date of death should be "1907."

I, p. 189, thirty-second line—note that the "schools" established at the University of Virginia in 1825 furnished the historic background for the "group system."

II, p. 3, seventh line—note that the "schools" established at the University of Virginia in 1825 furnished the historic background for the "group system."

II, p. 16, nineteenth line—for "corrunations" read "corruscations."

II, p. 72, ninth line—for "specimens" read "species."

II, p. 89, fourteenth line—for "Royal Academy" read "Royal Society."

II, p. 108, thirty-fifth line—for "388 Orange Street" read "275 Orange Street."

II, p. 146, fifth line—for "1841" read "1741."

II, p. 179, ninth line—for "Israel Putnam" read "Rufus Putnam."

II, p. 222, twenty-sixth line—for "adopt" read "adapt."

II, p. 407, fifteenth line—for "Institute" read "Institution." Add F. A. P. Barnard and Professors Dana, Newton, and Marsh to list of Presidents of American Association for Advancement of Science.

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